

China Insights

Xinping Zhuo

Religious Faith of the Chinese

 中国社会科学出版社
CHINA SOCIAL SCIENCES PRESS

 Springer

China Insights

Chairman of Editorial Board

Wang Weiguang

Vice Chairman of Editorial Board

Li Jie, Li Yang (Standing Executive), Li Peilin, Cai Fang

Editorial Board Members

Bu Xianqun, Cai Fang, Gao Peiyong, Hao Shiyuan, Huang Ping, Jin Bei, Li Jie, Li Lin, Li Peilin, Li Yang, Ma Yuan, Wang Lei, Wang Weiguang, Wang Wei, Yang Yi, Zhou Hong, Zhao Jianying, Zhuo Xinpeng

This book series collects and presents cutting-edge studies on various issues that have emerged during the process of China's social and economic transformation, and promotes a comprehensive understanding of the economic, political, cultural and religious aspects of contemporary China. It brings together academic endeavors by contemporary Chinese researchers in various social science and related fields that record, interpret and analyze social phenomena that are unique to Chinese society, its reforms and rapid transition. This series offers a key English-language resource for researchers and students in China studies and related subjects, as well as for general interest readers looking to better grasp today's China. The book series is a cooperation project between Springer and China Social Science Press of China.

More information about this series at <http://www.springer.com/series/13591>

Xinping Zhuo

Religious Faith of the Chinese



Author
Xinping Zhuo
Institute of World Religions
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences
Beijing, Beijing
China

Translated by
Dong Zhao
School of English and International Studies
Beijing Foreign Studies University
Beijing
China

Sponsored by Chinese Fund for the Humanities and Social Sciences

ISSN 2363-7579

ISSN 2363-7587 (electronic)

China Insights

ISBN 978-981-10-6378-7

ISBN 978-981-10-6379-4 (eBook)

<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-6379-4>

Jointly published with China Social Sciences Press.

The printed edition is not for sale in China Mainland. Customers from China Mainland please order the print book from China Social Sciences Press.

Library of Congress Control Number: 2017952917

© Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd. and China Social Sciences Press 2018

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are reserved by the Publishers, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publishers, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publishers nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publishers remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Printed on acid-free paper

This Springer imprint is published by Springer Nature

The registered company is Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd.

The registered company address is: 152 Beach Road, #21-01/04 Gateway East, Singapore 189721, Singapore

Series Foreword

Since the Opium War, modern China has come under attack and been bullied for its backwardness; this cultural circumstance has given many Chinese people a psychological inferiority complex, as China has lagged behind other countries technologically, institutionally, and culturally. Efforts to change the situation in which Western countries were strong but China was weak and to revitalize China needed to start with cultural criticism and culture renovation. Therefore, the Chinese people turned their eyes to the outside world and learned from Japan, Europe, the USA, and even Soviet Russia. We have always been overwhelmed by stress and anxiety and have had a burning desire to reverse the state of being bullied as a result of underdevelopment, poverty, and weakness and to catch up with and surpass the Western powers. In pursuing the more than one-hundred-year-old dream of building a powerful country and reviving China, we have focused on understanding and learning from others, but seldom, if ever, have others learned from and understood us. This has not greatly changed in the course of modernization since China's reform and opening up in 1978. The translation and introduction of many Western works in the 1980s and 1990s is a very good example. This is the history of the Chinese people's understanding of the relationship between China and the rest of the world since the beginning of modern times.

At the same time, in pursuing the dream of turning China into a powerful country and rejuvenating it through material (technological) criticism, institutional criticism, and cultural criticism, the Chinese people have struggled to find a path that would make the country prosperous and the people strong while preventing the country from being ruined and the race from being destroyed. This path first represents a thought, a banner, and a soul. The key issue has been what kind of thought, banner, and soul can save the country, making it prosperous and the people strong. For more than one hundred years, the Chinese people have constantly carried out experiments and attempts amidst humiliation, failure, and anxiety. They have experienced failure in adopting advanced Western technology and thought on

the basis of safeguarding China's feudal system and practicing a constitutional monarchy after the collapse of the Western capitalist political path and a great setback in worldwide socialism in the early 1990s. The Chinese people ultimately embarked on a path toward a successful revolution with national independence and liberation; in particular, they have adopted a path leading to the socialist modernization of China—a road toward socialism with Chinese characteristics—by combining the theoretical logic of scientific socialism with the historical logic of China's social development. After more than 30 years of reform and opening up, China's socialist market economy has rapidly developed; tremendous achievements have been made in economic, political, cultural, and social constructions; comprehensive national strength, cultural soft power, and international influence have substantially improved; and a great success has been achieved in socialism with Chinese characteristics. Although the latter project has not yet become full-fledged, its systems and institutions have basically taken shape. After more than one hundred years of pursuing dreams, China is rising among the nations of the world with a greater degree of confidence in the path it has chosen, the theory it has adopted, and the institutions it has created.

Meanwhile, we should be aware that given the long-standing cognition and cultural psychology of learning from Western countries; we seldom take the initiative in showcasing ourselves—historical China and current China in reality—to the world, though China has emerged as a great world power. Due to a deeply rooted view that “Western countries are strong and China is weak,” developed through Western-Chinese cultural exchanges, Western people and nations seldom have a sense of Chinese history or the current developments in China, let alone an understanding of China's developmental path and such in-depth issues as the scientificity and effectiveness of China's theory and institutions or their unique value for and contributions to human civilization. As self-recognition is not displayed, the “China Collapse Theory,” “China Threat Theory,” “China State Capitalism,” and other so-called theories coined by certain people with ulterior motives and differing political views have been widely spread.

During our development, based on “crossing the river by feeling the stones,” we have paid attention to learning from Western countries, understanding the world and learning to know ourselves through Western experience and discourse but have neglected self-recognition and efforts to let others know us. When we strive to become part of the world in a more tolerant and friendly way, we are not objectively, truly understood. Therefore, we should describe the path to the success of socialism with Chinese characteristics, tell Chinese stories, disseminate Chinese experiences, use international expressions to show a real China to the world, and help people around the world realize that the Western manner of modernization is not the endpoint of human historical evolution and that socialism with Chinese characteristics is also a valuable treasure of human thought. This is undoubtedly a

very important task for an academic cultural researcher with a sense of justice and responsibility.

In this connection, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences organized its top-notch experts and scholars and several external experts to write the China Insights series. This series not only provides an overview of China's path, theories, and institutions but also objectively describes China's current development in the areas of political institutions, human rights, the rule of law, the economic system, finance, social governance, social security, population policies, values, religious faith, ethnic policies, rural issues, urbanization, industrialization, ecology, ancient civilization, literature, art, etc., thus depicting China in a way that helps readers visualize these topics.

We hope that this series will help domestic readers more correctly understand the course of the more than 100 years of China's modernization and more rationally look at current difficulties, enhance the urgency for and national confidence in comprehensively intensifying reform, build a consensus on reform and development and gather strength in this regard, as well as deepen foreign readers' understanding of China, thus fostering a better international environment for China's development.

Zhao Jianying
January 2014

Contents

1	The Chinese Understanding of Faith	1
1.1	The Meaning of Faith	1
1.2	Political Faith	2
1.3	Cultural Faith	7
1.4	National Faith	9
1.5	Religious Faith	12
	References	13
2	The Chinese Understanding of Religion	15
2.1	The Meaning of Religion	15
2.2	The Spiritual Aspiration of Religion	19
2.3	The Social Existence of Religion	21
2.4	Religion and National Traditions	23
2.5	Religion and Politics	27
	References	29
3	The Indigenous Traditions of Chinese Religions	31
3.1	The Lineage of Chinese Religions	31
3.1.1	Nature Worship	31
3.1.2	The Worship of Ghosts and Spirits	44
3.1.3	Fertility Worship	47
3.1.4	The Worship of Ancestors or Ancient Gods	49
3.1.5	The Development of the Concept of <i>Shenming</i> (Gods of Divine Insight)	57
3.2	The Confucian School and the Confucian Religion	59
3.2.1	Expressions of “Ru”	59
3.2.2	The Founding of <i>Rujiao</i> (Confucian Religion)	61
3.2.3	The Development of the Confucian Religion	63
3.2.4	The Ideological Lineage of the Confucian Religion	67

3.3	Chinese Taoism	76
3.3.1	Understanding the Tao	76
3.3.2	The Origin of Religious Taoism	79
3.3.3	The Development of the Taoist Religion	80
3.3.4	Taoist Classics and Festivals	88
3.3.5	Taoist Ideas and Culture	90
3.4	Chinese Folk Religious Beliefs	97
3.4.1	Mahayana Sect of Maitreya	99
3.4.2	The Faith in Ma Zu	101
3.4.3	The White Lotus Society	102
3.4.4	Luojiao (Luo Teaching)	103
3.4.5	Incense Smelling Sect and the Tea Gate Sect	104
3.4.6	The Sect of Abstention in the South of Yangtze River and the Green Gang	105
3.4.7	Perfect and Immediate Teaching (Sect)	107
3.4.8	Yiguandao (Consistent Way)	108
3.4.9	Way of the Yellow Heaven	110
3.4.10	Hongyangism	111
3.4.11	Eight Trigram Teaching	113
3.4.12	Zhenkongism	115
3.4.13	The Church of the Three-in-One	116
3.4.14	Liumen Teaching	119
3.4.15	Tiandi Teachings (Religion of the Heavenly Sovereign)	120
3.4.16	De Teaching (teaching of virtue)	121
	References	122
4	The Localization of World Religions in China	123
4.1	Cultural Exchange and the Dissemination of Religions: China & The World	123
4.1.1	From Zoroastrianism to Huo'ao Teaching	123
4.1.2	From Manichaeism to Ming Cult	125
4.1.3	Judaism	128
4.2	Chinese Buddhism	133
4.2.1	The Entry of Buddhism to China	133
4.2.2	The Three Systems of Chinese Buddhism	135
4.2.3	Northern Buddhism	136
4.2.4	Southern Buddhism (Theravada Buddhism in Yunnan)	146
4.2.5	Tibetan Buddhism	148
4.2.6	The Development of Chinese Buddhism After Its Formation	151
4.2.7	Buddhist Precepts, Festivals, Classics and Doctrines	153

4.3	Chinese Islam	156
4.3.1	The Introduction of Islam	157
4.3.2	Islam and Its Chinese Development Since the Ming Dynasty	163
4.3.3	The Rise of Chinese Islamic Schools and Menhuan	168
4.3.4	Ideological and Cultural Features of Chinese Islam	173
4.3.5	The Modern Development of Chinese Islam	175
4.4	Ancient Chinese Nestorianism (Jingjiao)	177
4.4.1	Tang Dynasty Jingjiao	177
4.4.2	Yuan Dynasty Jingjiao (Yelikewen)	182
4.5	Chinese Catholicism	187
4.5.1	The Coming of Catholic Missionaries to China in the Yuan Dynasty	188
4.5.2	Catholicism in the Ming and Qing Dynasties	191
4.5.3	Modern Catholicism	193
4.6	Chinese Orthodox Church	196
4.7	Chinese Christianity	197
4.7.1	The Dissemination of Christianity in Taiwan in the 17th Century	198
4.7.2	The Dissemination of Christianity in China Prior to the Opium War	198
4.7.3	The Dissemination of Christianity in China After the “Opium War”	200
4.7.4	The Autonomy and Local Color Movement of Chinese Christian	203
4.7.5	Contemporary Development of Chinese Christianity	205
	References	206
5	The Religious Culture of the Chinese	209
5.1	The Spirit of Religious Culture	209
5.2	The Development of Religious Literature	212
5.3	Religious Art Creation	218
5.4	Religious Architecture and Landscape	232
5.5	Religion, Life-Nourishing and Fitness	237
5.6	Religious Eco-Civilization	239
	References	241
6	The Current State of the Chinese Religions	243
6.1	Guaranteeing Religious Freedom in Accordance with the Chinese Constitution	243
6.2	Government Regulating Religion in Accordance with Law	247
6.3	Guiding Religions in Social Adaptation	251
6.4	Activating the Positive Roles of Religion	252
6.5	Developing Religious Charities and Public Welfare	253

6.6 Facilitating the Construction of Religious Culture 254

6.7 Promoting Friendly Exchange Between Religions 256

References 258

7 Concluding Remarks 259

Index 261

Introduction

China has a long-standing religious history, a rich and vigorous life of faiths, and a colorful heritage of religious culture. Religion is one of the essential components of China's social structure, constituting the core of traditional Chinese culture. This religious tradition continues till today, spanning five thousand years in a single strain. Moreover, novelty and vitality accompany its new developments and manifestations in the contemporary context. There are bountiful and multifarious convergences between the Chinese religious beliefs, cultural spirit, and national character; therefore, when it comes to the temperament and characteristics of the Chinese people, the religious underpinnings ought not to be overlooked. It can be said that the religious history of China is a history, unique to the Chinese culture that enfolds the nation's greatest virtues in nourishing and sustaining all under heaven and her all-embracing capacity as the sea taking in hundreds of rivers; it manifests and witnesses the long-standing and extensive profundity of the Chinese culture. This history witnesses the opening of the Chinese culture to world civilizations, demonstrating the influence and appeal of the spirit of the Chinese faith to the world. Therefore, we should perceive and interpret the faith and religious understanding of the Chinese people with connotations of cultural philosophy and from the perspective of cultural history; explore the social, political, cultural, and spiritual essence of religion; trace the historical development and changing paradigms of the Chinese religious beliefs; analyze the features of indigenous Chinese religions and the localization history of foreign religions in China; delineate the harmonious and pluralistic coexistence of diverse religions in the Chinese spiritual life; reveal the brilliant diversities and splendors of the Chinese religious culture; highlight the actual conditions of religions in contemporary China; and proceed to clarify the practical sociocultural roles religion plays in the society.

Chinese people's spirit of faith and religious sentiments have left an indelible imprint on the history of Chinese culture, with echoes enduring and reinvigorating. China is also known as *Shenzhou* (Divine Land) or *Shenzhou dadi* (the Boundless Divine Land); such expressions coexist with terms such as *Huaxia* (the Beautiful

and Magnificent¹), *Zhongtu* (Middle Land), and *Zhongguo* (Middle Kingdom). The term *Shenzhou* and its explanation appeared in *Shiji* (*Records of the Grand Historian*), a classic of Chinese history; for instance, its chapter of “Biographies of Mencius and Xun Qing” recorded that “China was termed Divine Land and Red Region.” And the various historical classics explained the term *Shenzhou* regarding its religious connotations. For instance, *The General Examination of the Past and Present* (*Gujin Tonglun*) says, “the five thousand li land to the southeast of Mount Kunlun was called *Shenzhou*, where *Hegengxiang* spanned three thousand li, being the realm of the Five Sacred Mountains, the abode of kings and emperors, and the cradle of stages; *Sacred Records of Primordial Chaos* (*Hunyuan Shengji*) states,” once upon a time in *Shenzhou*, the Tao of the immortals was employed as transformative teachings to the people. From the three sage kings down to the five virtuous emperors, the cultivation of the Tao led all to immortality. Hence, there was the connection between *Shenzhou* and *Shenxian* (immortals), and the former could be understood as the abode of the latter. *The Supreme Clarity Book of Golden Liquids and Divine Elixirs* (*Taiqing Jinye Shendan Jing*) also had the following record: “...But the ancient sages matched the Middle Kingdom of *Shenzhou* and the Island of Nine States (*Jiuzhoudao*) with the patterns of the Eight Trigrams, situating them in line with the Northern Dipper and the center of the earth. Therefore, the Island of Nine States was located here.” To some extent, the concept of *Shenzhou dadi* expresses the continuity of Chinese culture and its implications of religious faith, particularly in the sense of immortalizing and deifying the Chinese people and their cultural ancestors. In this vein, *Zhongtu* is *Shenzhou*, with the Yellow Emperor (*Huangdi*) in the center as the Central Deity. In the legendary system of the five virtuous emperors, the Yellow Emperor embodied the nature of the earth, so he ruled with earth virtues. Legend has it that the land ruled by the Yellow Emperor was called *Shenzhou*, while the southern land ruled by the Red Emperor (*Yandi*) is called Red Region (*Chixian*), resulting in the composite term *Chixian Shenzhou* (Red Region and Divine Land), which was later changed to *Shenzhou Chixian* (Divine Land and Red Region) due to the more prominent status of the Yellow Emperor. Here, the cultural connotation of worshiping national gods and ancestor gods is self-evident.

Nature religions, myths, and legends abounded in ancient China, providing a rich background of polytheistic worship. With the deification of the concept *Tian*, the Chinese religions also begot a kind of monotheism and the corresponding abstract and absolute theism. Yet because the Chinese religious faith blurs the dimension of the transcendent, it is often regarded as a faith that tends to be humanistic, social, and this-world-oriented. After the tripartite balance of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism came into being, there had been no developmental trend of one single dominating religion, except the fact that Confucianism was oftentimes given special favor and sole reverence; instead, the unity of the Three Teachings came to be

¹ Translator’s note: *Hua* originally describes the beauty of Chinese clothing and *Xia* the magnificence of Chinese rituals and ceremonies.

eulogized far and wide. The Chinese society welcomes the introduction of foreign religions, embracing successively Buddhism, Christianity (including Catholicism and Eastern Orthodox), Islam, Judaism, Zoroastrianism (also called the “*Xian*” Teachings or the “Fire-Worshipping” Religion), Manichaeism, Bahá’í Faith, etc., including even the indistinct traces of Hinduism. It can be said that the Chinese religious beliefs have participated actively in the development of world religions, with a unique contribution therein. In retrospect, we can see such a rich diversity of the Chinese religious content, that even today around one hundred million Chinese people have religious beliefs of various types, a vivid reflection of China as the “*Shenzhou*.” Therefore, we should recognize the important contribution of Chinese culture to religion and the spiritual culture of humanity and cherish this spiritual pilgrimage of the Chinese people. In view of the abundant historical facts and findings, we should face squarely the existence of Chinese religious beliefs and evaluate it with objectivity and justice. The religious faith is a usual way for the Chinese people to establish the basis of life and attain the stability of spirit, a normal reflection of the vivid, vigorous Chinese spiritual life, as well as a valuable legacy of the Chinese culture. The complicated involvement of religion into the political, economical, and cultural spheres is a result of its social existence, hence its historical inevitability. Regarding religion, we must adopt an attitude of rational analysis and correct treatment; we must never talk about it recklessly and evaluate it arbitrarily without taking into account reality and history.

The perception of the Chinese religious faith should be correlated to our cultural self-perception and be connected to the root of Chinese civilizations. The reviewing of Chinese religious history is also a self-reflection and a spiritual evaluation of the Chinese people, from which the basics of the Chinese religious phenomenon can be clarified and its spiritual underpinning can be experienced and apprehended. From the perspectives of the cultural history and the spiritual life of humanity, we should have a positive evaluation of religions. And a positive evaluation of the Chinese religions is especially important to boosting the Chinese cultural confidence. He Lin, who has a penetrating insight of both Chinese and Western philosophical wisdom, once said, “in religion is to be found a sincere faith, an unswerving constancy, a universal compassion, a human altruism, an all-encompassing embrace and a spirit of transcendence.”² To infuse more positive energy into the social development, we should view squarely and explore the positive aspects and social functions of religions, and by so doing, we can exert an effective and positive guidance to contemporary Chinese religions, which can in turn contribute to China’s modern social development and participation in constructing the modern world civilization. Especially in a time when China is building a harmonious society, there ought to be a religious participation and the strength of faith. For this purpose, it is necessary for us to analyze carefully and systematically the significance of faith to the Chinese people and to fully clarify the functions of religion in the Chinese society and its influences on Chinese culture.

²He Lin, *Culture and life*, The Commercial Press, 1999, p. 8.

Chapter 1

The Chinese Understanding of Faith

1.1 The Meaning of Faith

Faith is an important factor in the spiritual culture of the human race, and one of the “means by which man grasps the world.” It reflects prescience, foresightedness, imaginativeness and a quality of conjecturing, embodying a spiritual pursuit that transcends nature, the self and the society. Though with factors such as the unknown, the indistinct and the mysterious in its expression, faith remains an essential motivating spiritual force, necessary for the human existence and development. Faith exists universally in all human races, no exception to the Chinese. It can be said that the Chinese culture manifests obvious traits of faith and we cannot overlook the spiritual needs of the Chinese people.

In the Chinese cultural milieu, understanding the faith of the Chinese people lies in two aspects: inter-personal relationships and discourse. In terms of inter-personal relationships, the faith of the Chinese people is understood as a type of relationship, which is expanded on the human basis. In this sense, the inter-personal relationship means more than the relationship between men, collective relationship or social relationship; it inevitably concerns the relationship between man and nature, and the relationship between man and the transcendent that he takes into account during contemplation. The Chinese, in their spiritual pursuit of inquiring the different roles of Heaven and man, would evoke associations of relationships between the Tao of man and the Tao of *Tian* (Heaven), between *renwen* (human pattern) and *tianwen* (Heavenly pattern), and between *renxue* (human learning) and *tianxue* (heavenly learning). An examination of the transcendent will be associated with the issue of *shenming* (spirit illumination or divine illumination). Therefore, the theory of human faith is bound to include the learning of heaven and the learning of *shen* (spirit). In terms of discourse, understanding the Chinese faith will involve the relationship between “Tao” and “word”. “The Tao that can be expressed in words is not the eternal Tao.” To utter the unutterable mysteries of the universe in the human language, man needs not only such “brain logic” as reasoning, judgment and

deduction, but also such “heart logic” as imagination, conjecture and dreams. So the language of faith is symbolic, creative and poetic, enabling one to experience and perceive the confluence of thinking modes like visualization, imagery and abstraction. Meanwhile, this language was extended from the original discourses into singing and dancing, and the various languages of the body and movement. For this reason, some religious thinkers declare that the language of faith consists of prayers, hymns and rituals, which also break the limits of “discourse” in its narrow sense.

Regarding the meaning of *xin-yang* (faith) itself, *xin* expresses the cherished desire of the heart, and a spiritual pursuit; there should be a target of the faith and an object of the pursuit; and the object and the subject of faith are organically connected. On the other hand, *yang* arises from reverence, generating the acts and practice of the faithful; this admiration and adoration will echo the awe and mysteriousness arising in the faithful. However, the object of people’s faith may not necessarily be the other shore or the next life; its scenario is open and embracing, and can be understood from multiple perspectives. Faith as a notion of the “not-yet principle” has multiple associations and interpretations of its “ought principle”. Such associations of faith testify the liveliness and vigor of the faith community. We must never despise or devalue the power of faith.

Chinese people’s faith is their spiritual support, their prime motivating force in establishing the basis of life, attaining the stability of spirit, and advancing with a pioneering initiative. Admittedly, with different social circumstances and life experiences, people will not achieve singularity in faith. In reality, we may find multiples faiths in coexistence. For this reason, understanding and tolerating faith proves especially important. In the rich array of the Chinese religious life and its multifaceted faith co-construction, at least the still highly active political faith, cultural faith, national faith and religious faith merit our great emphasis.

1.2 Political Faith

Political faith originated in the socio-political activities of human communities, as a firm belief in their political goals and a faithful adherence to their political principles. Political faith in the Chinese tradition is embodied in the political ideal of “dedication and loyalty to the country,” from which sprung the Chinese conceptions of mission, responsibility and obligation, and the Chinese are always ready to “sacrifice their lives for these noble ideals.” Such acts constitute devotion in the traditional Chinese political ideology in which the “small self” yields to the “big self,” showcased in the Chinese collective consciousness and team spirit. Closely linked to the traditional Chinese ideas of “family” and “country,” this type of political faith is rooted in the traditional Chinese political philosophy of “*Keji fuli* (discipline the self and return to ritual)” and the moral-philosophical doctrine of “*zhongzhen xiaoti* (loyalty, chastity, filial piety and respect for elder males)”; based on such principles, the “absolute commandments” of filial piety at home and loyalty

to the emperor at court are formulated and developed into the political faith that sustained the Chinese social order.

There are three main aspects of traditional Chinese political faith: (1) China outlook and world outlook, aiming at the “great harmony” of the society; (2) outlook on social order, promoting “*Keji fuli* (discipline the self and return to ritual)” to redeem the decadent society marked by “*libengyuehuai* (the collapse of feudal religious rites and the ruin of music),” and restore the “benevolent governance” of “*Liyi zhi bang* (The Land of Ritual and Morality)”; and (3) the concept of responsibility of “*xiu qi zhi ping* (self cultivation, family management, maintaining order in the society, and achieving lasting peace of the world),” with its responsibilities and missions carried on by the *shi* group, primarily Confucian intellectuals, with the goal of “*titian xingdao* (Carry Out the Way on Heaven’s Behalf)” and “*tianxia taiping* (harmony under heaven)”.

The concepts of China and the world (*tianxia*) has been undergoing changes and developments, a reflection of the ancient Chinese expansion of the knowledge of both the country and the world. “Teng Wen Gong (part one)” of *Mencius* records that “In the time of Yao, when the world had not yet been perfectly reduced to order, the vast waters, flowing out of their channels, made a universal inundation.... The paths marked by the feet of beasts and prints of birds crossed one another throughout the Middle Kingdom. To Yao alone this caused anxious sorrow. He raised Shun to office, and measures to regulate the disorder were set forth.” (James Legge’s translation) Here the Middle Kingdom refers to the land where Yao and Shun resided, and the *Tianxia* denotes China in its modern sense. Hence, the “Middle Kingdom” has connotations of the middle land, the middle and the center; it is also termed “Capital State” and “National Capital”. “Let us cherish this centre of the kingdom/To secure the repose of the four quarters of it” from the “*min lao*” of “Greater odes of the kingdom” in the *Book of Poetry*, and the *zhongguo* recorded in “I wish to give Mencius a house, somewhere in the middle of the kingdom, and to support his disciples with an allowance of 10,000 *zhong* (a unit of currency)” from the “Censures on Mencius” in *Mencius*, etc. all have meanings of “capital of a country” or “capital city.” Due to the high esteem of the *Huaxia* nationality, the Central Plains that they inhabited and the government they established therein are also titled “*zhongguo*”. For instance, Chapter Three of the “Qin Intrigues” from *Intrigues of the Warring States* records, “the states of Han and Wei are regarded as the central kingdom, the pivot of the world”. “Annals of the Xiaowu Emperor” in *Records of the Great Historian* states, “There are eight famous mountains of the world, three being in the barbarian areas and five in the Middle Kingdom.” Corresponding to the expression of “*zhongguo*”, “*tianxia*” (under heaven) and “*sihai*” (the four seas) have the modern connotation of “China”, because the world outlook at that time was still confined to this perspective. The authentic classical China outlook is only found in the afore-mentioned “*tianxia*” and the “*tianxia*” and “*sihai*” in “Heaven regarded him with His favoring mandate, Giving him all the four seas so that he reigns as ruler of all under heaven” from “Counsels of the Great Yu” of *The Book of Documents*. Hence the sayings from “Yan Yuan” in the *Analec*s: “Within the four seas all men are brothers” and from “The Basic Annals

of Emperor Kao-tsu" in *Records of the Grand Historian*: "The Son of Heaven regards heaven as his family and amplifies his awe-inspiring power with nothing other than magnificence." The concept of "What is under heaven is for all" was stressed by classical Chinese political philosophy as the general standard for the application of the "Great Tao." Here the concepts of "family" and "country" are vividly presented, with family being the private domain of the "small self" and the "country" as the public domain of the "big self", forming the "collective consciousness" that is both intense and unique in a single continuous strain from antiquity to the present. Therefore, only when "What is under heaven is for all" could there be a society of "great harmony". This political faith of seeking and pursuing "great harmony" is the effort to transcend the social reality with its realization oriented towards the future. Though such an ideal can only be expressed in terms of the good old days, the golden age in high antiquity when "people would return what they picked up on the street and would not lock their doors during the night," and now people should work hard to restore it, since it is long lost, the outlook is still a future oriented one. The future ideal society is formulated in view of the present one, an expression of dissatisfaction, despair and negation of the social reality. Anyway, the Chinese political ideology is well-balanced, mild and non-extreme; it will never cease its efforts in enhancing the present status-quo. As the fountainhead of the "Great Harmony", "the Liyun" in *The Book of Rites* states, "Now that the Grand course has fallen into disuse and obscurity, the kingdom is a family inheritance. Every one loves (above all others) his own parents and cherishes (as) children (only) his own sons. People accumulate articles and exert their strength for their own advantage. Great men imagine it is the rule that their states should descend in their own families. Their object is to make the walls of their cities and suburbs strong and their ditches and moats secure. The rules of propriety and of what is right are regarded as the threads by which they seek to maintain in its correctness the relation between ruler and minister; in its generous regard that between father and son; in its harmony that between elder brother and younger; and in a community of sentiment that between husband and wife; and in accordance with them they frame buildings and measures; lay out the fields and hamlets (for the dwellings of the husbandmen); adjudge the superiority to men of valour and knowledge; and regulate their achievements with a view to their own advantage. Thus it is that (selfish) schemes and enterprises are constantly taking their rise, and recourse is had to arms; and thus it was (also) that Yü, Thang, Wan and Wü, king Khang, and the duke of Kâu obtained their distinction. Of these six great men every one was very attentive to the rules of propriety, thus to secure the display of righteousness, the realisation of sincerity, the exhibition of errors, the exemplification of benevolence, and the discussion of courtesy, showing the people all the normal virtues. Any rulers who did not follow this course were driven away by those who possessed power and position, and all regarded them as pests. This is the period of what we call Small Tranquility." Small Tranquility has its base in the family and the "Great Harmony" reflects the public interest, belonging to the realm of "tianxia" (under heaven). "When the Grand course was pursued, a public and common spirit ruled all under the sky; they chose men of talents, virtue, and ability;

their words were sincere, and what they cultivated was harmony. Thus men did not love their parents only, nor treat as children only their own sons. A competent provision was secured for the aged till their death, employment for the able-bodied, and the means of growing up to the young. They showed kindness and compassion to widows, orphans, childless men, and those who were disabled by disease, so that they were all sufficiently maintained. Males had their proper work, and females had their homes. (They accumulated) articles (of value), disliking that they should be thrown away upon the ground, but not wishing to keep them for their own gratification. (They labored) with their strength, disliking that it should not be exerted, but not exerting it (only) with a view to their own advantage. In this way (selfish) schemings were repressed and found no development. Robbers, filchers, and rebellious traitors did not show themselves, and hence the outer doors remained open, and were not shut. This was (the period of) what we call the Grand Union.”¹ Such political faiths in the society of “Great Harmony” had a lasting influence on the generations of rulers and intellectual elites in the Chinese history, and they were frequently alluded to in the pre-modern and modern reform eras, as seen in Kang Youwei’s *Book of Great harmony* and Sun Yat-sen’s “What is under heaven is for all”, etc., all evidences of such explorations. After the formation of the *Huaxia* culture that encompassed the Han culture and the minority cultures, the ancient concept of “zhongguo” was expanded to its modern association and “tianxia” began to assume its connotation of the world.

The Chinese ancient imperial politics upheld the culture of etiquette and ceremonial music; it emphasized that in China, where “Under the entire heaven, /There is no land that is not the Emperor’s. /To the borders of the land, /There is no man who is not the Emperor’s subject, “ the hierarchical social order of “Three Bonds”, or the unconditional subordination of subjects to the ruler, sons to the father, and women to men, was to be maintained. Such an ideology was the root of the Chinese filial piety and imperial loyalty, with the former being the bond of familial relationships, hence today’s filial tradition, and the latter the bond of the Chinese social political relationships, hence today’s political, cultural tradition of “loyalty to the emperor” and “devotion to the country”. In this aspect, filial piety is the logical premise and cognitional foundation for political loyalty; only when the filial piety at home was achieved could there be political loyalty to the emperor and the country, with faithfulness and honesty being the cardinal principle for both cases. In ancient China, the concepts of family and country were closely related, hence the composite term of *guojia* (country family or country). To the individual, the family is his “small family” and the country is his “big family”, thus forming the social order of sacrificing the “small family” for the “big family”; from “guarding the home, defending the country” to “sacrificing the home for the country”, we find the national interest overrides all; when one cannot have both filial piety and political

¹Translator’s note: these two citations are from the classic English translation of *The Book of Rites* by James Legge. Some excerpts of the Chinese classics in English translation in this book are from such widely accepted translators as James Legge, Arthur Waley, etc.

loyalty, it is only reasonable that he puts down the former and preserves the latter. On the other hand, the feudal rulers always regarded the whole country as his family, governing the country with the idea of “I am the state” or as if he were taking care of his family, yet most often, he, in keeping the country as his possession, was ruining the country in a corrupted way. Meanwhile, when the loyalty to the country became the loyalty to the ruler, this loyalty would be alienated into a “blind loyalty”. Once the “*libengyuehuai* (the collapse of feudal religious rites and the ruin of music)” happened to the society, the country would be in chaos and a regime change was likely to result. In this preservation of the social order could be found two dimensions: propriety and benevolence. The propriety, or the social regulations and norms, is objective and oriented towards the society; and benevolence is subjective, oriented toward the individual and based on educational training and moral cultivation. Since in China the society is superior to the individual and the collective weightier than the private, loving benevolence and humane government must serve the propriety of the society, hence the Confucian saying “Humanity is restraining oneself and observing the ritual propriety.” It also became the important principle of the Chinese political belief, rendering a super self-control on the part of the Chinese people.

The Chinese call for political loyalty molded the *shi* or intellectual class and their personality traits. The *shi* wanted “to regard all under the heavens as one’s own responsibility,” regarded the upholding of truth as “*titian xingdao* (Carry Out the Way on Heaven’s Behalf)”, exercised the political choice of abandoning the “benighted emperor” and initiating devotion to the “enlightened lord”, and had the noble spirit of “A gentleman will die for the patron who recognizes his worth”. The *shi*’s sense of mission and responsibility granted him an active participation in the society in the belief that “All men share a common responsibility for the fate of their country,” regarding as his political faith and aspiration “To ordain conscience for Heaven and Earth; to secure life and fortune for the people; to continue the lost teachings of the past sages; to establish peace for all generations to come.” Political fervor and passion would mark *shi*’s practice to such an extent that they could “endure humiliation to carry out an noble task”, regardless of all other things in life. The well-known illustrations could be found in Confucius, who went all around campaigning for the remedy of “*libengyuehuai* (the collapse of feudal religious rites and the ruin of music), fearless of being wretched as “a homeless dog”, and Qu Yuan, who drowned himself in the Miluo River as a form of protest against the destruction of his country, leaving behind his imperishable noble spirit. *Shi*’s social endeavors were in steady, progressive steps, with attention given to developmental stages and gradual elevation, proceeding in the orderly way of “eight steps of self-cultivation, namely, investigating things (*gewu*), extending knowledge (*zhizhi*), sincere thoughts (*chengyi*), rectifying hearts (*zhengxin*), self-cultivation (*xiushen*), regulating family (*qijia*), governing the state (*zhiguo*), and making the world peaceful (*pingtianxia*),” with the spiritual realm of “Be concerned about the affairs of state before others, and enjoy comfort after others”. But in the complicated and convoluted Chinese political arena, *shi*, in being loyal and honest, nurtured the disposition of harmony and equilibrium, emphasizing the qualities of “Leading a

simple life will manifest an illumined mind, and having inner peace will help you advance far into the world”, “not delighted by material gains, not saddened by personal losses”, and the calmness of “In poverty and humbleness, one will cultivate virtues in solitude; in dignity and affluence, one will contribute to the whole world”; he had the self-detachment of “Traveling to the place where the water ends, /I sit and wait to see clouds rising”, just as Mencius had said, ““He who has exhausted all his mental constitution knows his nature. Knowing his nature, he knows Heaven. To preserve one’s mental constitution, and nourish one’s nature, is the way to serve Heaven.” With this political pursuit of serving heaven and accomplishing peace of the world, *shi* has strict requirements of himself, having not only “Keji fuli (discipline the self and return to ritual)” politically, but also “preservation of one’s purity” and “cultivation of one’s original nature” in daily life. *Shi* has a balanced position in the five Chinese social categories of “average, *shi*, gentleman, sage and saint” in avoiding the decadence of the average, preserving the position of a gentleman, and competing for the realm of sage and saint. Therefore, it is essential to read to understand the *shi* or intercultural class of the Chinese society.

1.3 Cultural Faith

In the history of China, cultural faith was related to political faith, yet with a lessened faithfulness in the imperial power or the ruler, which was actually transformed into a reverence for and a faith in the orthodoxy of traditional Chinese culture. This “tender feeling” and “reverence” for traditional Chinese culture aimed at preserving the root and soul of Chinese culture, sustaining the promise of the generations to “keep the root” of the Chinese culture, so that the Chinese culture would not “have the scatted and dispersed *hun* (heavenly soul) and *po* (earthly soul)”, and the China spirit would flourish everlastingly.

The Chinese had a heart-felt perception of the extensive depth and long standing of their own culture, harboring a deep love for it. Of all the classical civilizations of the world, the five-millennium Chinese culture is the only one that has a continuous and uninterrupted standing until today; through trials and tribulations, it has always been transforming itself for the better; with her all-embracing capacity as the sea taking in hundreds of rivers, she has been learning the strengths from all other cultures to enrich herself, forming a cultural system of comprehensiveness, magnanimity and unified diversity. Old yet always exhibiting new colors of inspiration, the Chinese culture acts as the people’s spiritual stronghold, settling both their livelihood and destiny. Thus, the reverence for and faithful adherence to the Chinese culture constitutes the Chinese cultural faith.

Understanding the Chinese culture is based on the ancient Chinese people’s correlated observation and description of heaven, earth and man. Legend has it that during the high antiquity in the era of the Three Sovereigns, Heavenly Sovereign Suiren-shi (legendary inventor of fire) started the observation of heaven, the Earthly

Emperor Shen Nong (Farmer God) began the plowing of land, and the Human Sovereign Fu Xi (ox-tamer) started observing human beings in accordance with “the measure of man to record events”. The “Commentary on the Appended Phrases” of the *Book of Change* records Fu Xi, the ancestor of Chinese humanities: “looking up, he observed heavenly images; looking down, he imitated the patterns of the earth”; in this way, he achieved the harmony of heaven, earth and man to “comprehend the virtues of gods and reflect the actual circumstances of all creation”. According to this comprehensive or holistic way of observation, we have the earliest understanding and exposition of the Chinese “culture”. As recorded in the *Bi Hexagram* of *The Book of Change*, “*Tuan*: We look at the ornamental figures of the sky, and thereby ascertain the changes of the seasons. We look at the ornamental observances of society, and understand how the processes of transformation are accomplished all under heaven.” With regards to the maturity of man, his transformation has to be facilitated by cultural decorum. In view of this root, the word “culture (*wen ming*)” was used to define “civil administration” and “moral education”, including multiple connotations like “human education” and “human virtues”. Meanwhile, the association of culture was extended from civil virtues and ornaments to “the observation and measurement of heaven and earth is called *wen* and the illumination of the four directions is termed *ming*”. The *Tuan* of Hexagram Dayou in the *Book of Change* states, “Its virtue is solidifying and building and with this presents traces of brightness, it conforms to heaven and so time allows movement, it is the origin and progression.” From its system of etiquette, ritual music, and law as well as its civil administration and moral education, Chinese culture developed the complementary antithesis of “Cultural transformation permeates within/military achievement spreads without”, as stated in the “Xun yue Biography” of *Book of the Later Han*, “to discern the likes and dislikes to rectify the habits; to promote civil education to manifest the transformation”, and in Wang Rong’s *Preface to Poems Composed near Waters*, “to employ divine wisdom to influence the social customs and spread culture to the common people”. China, as historically a nation of etiquette and ritual ceremonies, emphasized the cultural influence on the society. Even in the diplomatic relations, the function of cultural virtues was very important, as recorded in the *Ji Shi Chapter* of the Confucian *Analects*, “when the people afar are unsupporting, bring them round and cultivate them with literature and virtue.” Such cultural administration and cultural virtues have become the Chinese people’s cultural faith and adherence.

In accordance with the “Doctrine of the Golden Mean,” Chinese culture emphasizes “the harmonious unity of varieties” and “harmony and cooperation”, that is, to constantly accept and absorb the “other” in the spirit of “Embrace the varieties and tolerate the intolerable”, always renewing and enhancing itself in this process. Therefore, the Chinese cultural faith is a type of harmonious culture in which the Chinese pursue all-inclusiveness, harmonious tolerance, harmonious living, harmonious coexistence, and peaceful coexistence. From this comprehensive diversity and diverse blending, the cultural unity of the “Cultural China” is formed, giving rise to the “China Dream” and “China Complex”. With this gesture of “harmony and kindness”, Chinese culture is able to take a dialogic position with

cultures of the world in a friendly manner, winning more mutual infiltration and blending.

In view of the Golden Mean as the ethical bottom line of the world, Chinese culture is deemed as a culture that preserves “equanimity and gentle moderation” and “moral ethics”. With the Confucian spirit infiltrating its history, the Chinese culture “enables the Chinese people to acquire and sustain a mentality of equilibrium, cool and gentle, non-violent, non-metaphysical, more intuition, less logic, valuing experience, favoring history, that serves practical life and goes against adventures.”² Obviously, Chinese culture manifests characteristics of an agricultural society, diffused with an aroma of the soil. Seen in the perspective of self-reflection, this culture reveals a surplus in stability, yet a deficiency in the pioneering spirit. On the other hand, it is self-evident that the steady development of the Chinese society owes much to this tradition.

In analyzing the cultural elements of China’s “moral ethics”, Zhang Dainian expounded the following ten major virtues: benevolence, filial piety and fraternal duty; humbleness and courtesy; honesty and gratitude; loyalty and devotion to the country; unselfish work for the common good; self cultivation and self-discipline; contemplating justice at the sight of profits; frugality and conscience; sincerity and generosity; and courage and assertion.”³ Chinese culture tends to be pragmatic and close to social care, emphasizing ethics of human relations, public morals and social norms and regulations, which used to be the invisible guidelines governing people’s words and acts, and guaranteed the steady development of society. Both the merits and weaknesses of this moral culture are inherited and observed by the Chinese people, becoming the Chinese cultural character after a long history of accumulation. The Chinese has thus demonstrated their own style in the world for their unique adherence to principles like “observing the Tao and valuing the virtues, favoring both justice and profits, enjoying community and harmony, harmony within diversities, frugality and self improvement, honesty and professional dedication, practical statesmanship, and the world as a commonwealth shared by all,” constituting the spiritual homeland and cultural root for all Chinese nationality for thousands of years. In the development of contemporary society, when facing the conflicts of world cultures and the cultural plurality, the Chinese has reacted by reinforcing their cultural awareness, cultural confidence and cultural improvement.

1.4 National Faith

To the Chinese, “national unity” and “unification of the country” are fundamental to their national faith, and are deemed as the Tao of the existence and development of the Chinese nation. The Chinese term “*minzu*” (nation or nationalities) has its origin

²Zehou (1986).

³Dainian (1994).

in *Discourse on Barbarians and Chinese* by the Southern Dynasties period (420–589) Taoist scholar Gu Huan, who lived under the Southern Qi dynasty (479–502): “nowadays, the adult Chinese men and women, not having changed their nationality (*minzu*), bare their heads, sit slantly and engage the barbarian rituals indiscriminately,” conveying its basic message of ethnic distinctions. In ancient China, there was the saying of “a hundred arranged ethnic categories, a myriad forms of the ethnic group”, with a composite term of “Eastern Yi (eastern barbarians)”, “Southern Man (southern barbarians)”, “Western Rong (western barbarians)”, “Northern Di (northern barbarians)”, and “*Huaxia* of the Central Plains” as “People of the Five Directions,” which could be understood as *minzu* with directional and regional attributes. The Chinese national faith in the “Great Unity” was formed after the unification of China by Qin Dynasty, which emphasized “same ruts for carriages, same script for writing”, and since then the “Great Unity” of the multinational or ethnic state has become the bottom line for Chinese politics. Combined with China’s cultural and political faiths, “unification” and “equilibrium” have become the cardinal principles of faith for the Chinese people. If the faith in the “Great Unity” is shaken, then the root of the Chinese nation will be affected, and ethnic separatism would push China to face “its greatest peril.” In fact, the modern Chinese national consciousness was awakened and reinforced in a time of invasion by the Western powers. The long standing Chinese “self-conscious nation” experienced the most severe challenge in the Opium War, and the defeat of China and the loss of her land had made the Chinese nation perceive more clearly and poignantly their national consciousness. Under such circumstances, national unity was given an unprecedented emphasis, and “the Chinese nation” became the most powerful expression of China’s national faith.

Admittedly, the Chinese nation was historically composed of diverse ethnic groups, resulting in the “Great Unity” after the age-long harmonization and unification of diversities. The main ethnic group “Han” is in essence formed by multi ethnic groups co-existing and blending, with rich geographical culture and language content, as one ethnic group manifesting the cultural traits of diverse ones. The Han ethnic group (the neighboring ethnic groups called the people in the central areas of the Han Dynasty “hanren” or Han people) was actually the descendants of the unified ethnic groups of the Central Plains (*Zhongyuan*). In the history of China, many minority ethnic groups came from northeast and northwest of China to the Central Plains and set up their political regimes, ending up in losing their ethnic identity in the annals of history as a result of blending themselves into the Han ethnic group. Between the Han and the minority ethnic groups, there were not only fierce battles with flashing swords and loud sounding battle drums but also harmonious interactions such as economic and cultural communications, inter-marriages, and the eventual unity. It can be said that the spiritual union and communications of the peoples in the Central Plains opened a window to the research of this phenomenon in Chinese history. The “Great Unity” contributed to China’s sustainable development, power, prosperity and tenacity. The spirit of the “Great Unity” unlocks the mystery of China’s existence and forges the Chinese national faith.

The formation of China's national faith undergoes a complicated historical progression, and its concept of unity also has its own manifestations and symbols. It had traces in the ancestor worship and the totems that reflected the national characteristics in China's high antiquity. The Chinese nation mostly used "Descendants of the Fiery Emperor and Yellow Emperor" as her self-expression. This national faith with common ancestors has its openness and expandability, and the term "yanhuang" (Fiery Emperor and Yellow Emperor) has also turned from a specific reference to a metaphorical one. The well-known legend of the Yellow Emperor (Huangdi) and the Fiery Emperor (Yandi) joining forces in the war against Emperor Chi You reflected the arduous and tortuous experience of either the differentiation or division of China's ancient ethnic groups and their process of unification. Although there should have been differences between the descendants of Chi You and those of Yellow Emperor and the Fiery Emperor, yet with the emphasis of the Chinese on their common origin and their all-embracing capacity as the sea taking in hundreds of rivers, the diverse Chinese ethnic groups came together from the "five lakes and four seas" (the vast, diverse territories) of China, converging into one major *minzu* or nation. Similarly, "Descendants of the Dragon", as the memory of the distant Chinese totems, also had full connotations of cohesive unity. The Chinese "dragon", as a highly abstract and comprehensive animal image, has a symbol that is actually nonexistent, but its connotation combines all the totemic animal images of China's antiquity; thus, the dragon image has been passed down from generation to generation. So "dragon" especially expresses the psychological traits and cultural accumulation of the Han Chinese formed through unified diversities. From "Descendants of the Dragon" to "Descendants of the Fiery Emperor and Yellow Emperor", the harmonious and unified ancient Chinese had faith in a "big nation", no longer having differentiation between "Central States (*Zhongguo*) and outer *Yi-Di* (barbarians)". Moreover, the ancient ethnic groups' blood ties, languages, religions and customs were reformed and remolded during their absorption into the Han, undergoing a baptismal and filtering process in the Chinese national consciousness, and possessing the cultural imprints of the old in the new and the ancient in the modern. As a "big family" formed by various ethnic groups, China closely connects "family" and "country", making the two indivisible with its unique concept of harmony, generating the concepts of faith and national consciousness that value "small family obeying the big family" and "safeguarding the country to protect the family". The notions of "family" and "home place," together with the inherent affection for "hometown" and "homeland," unique to the Chinese people, are not dissolved but transported to the overseas, becoming an affectionate attachment, a longing and a yearning for their homeland; thus, a "China Heart" invokes a "China Dream". Such "love of the hometown" and "melody of home yearning" comprise the serenade of the Chinese national faith, sentimental and touching.

As expressed in the Chinese cultural faith, the faith tradition of the Chinese people is a spiritual-cultural system, connotative, intrinsic, self-improving and self-perfecting. The splendor of the Chinese people's nomadic expedition was long gone, and the "treasure voyages" were also short-lived like the dew drops in the morning. The relatively enclosed geographical pattern finds its classic manifestation

in the Great Wall: immense though the land is, a wall is still needed to enclose it. Apparently, this national faith emphasizes the land instead of the sea, revering defense and despising aggressive expansion. The Chinese people hold that “As heaven maintains vigor through movements, a gentle man should constantly strive for self-perfection. As earth’s condition is receptive devotion, a gentle man should hold the outer world with broad mind”; the Chinese ancient eminence stems from this belief, yet today it cannot but face the call of the seas and the challenges of the foreign lands.

1.5 Religious Faith

In the traditions of Chinese cultural and national faith, the ancient religious faith was already manifest. The initial expression of the Chinese spirit is in the manner of religious faith. These expressions can be traced to the myths of the Chinese high antiquity and legends of the Chinese ancestors. From these moving myths, we may well sense the fundamental considerations and problematics at the fountainhead of Chinese culture as well as their philosophical thinking and imaginations in exploring heaven, earth and man. Accordingly, these myths also enfold to us the dimly visible traces of the Chinese national formation and the Chinese ancestral artifacts. The ancient religious myths reflect the “misty beauty” of the primordial Chinese spirit with its “nostalgic musings.” From the ancient myths is detected the primitive tribal cognition and adaptation of the supernatural, and from the natural cognition is born the consciousness of the transcendental. Here is the transition from mythology to religion, from experiential understanding to belief and faith, for “all myths employ imagination to conquer, control and embody the natural force,”^① (*Anthology of Karl Marx*, Volume 8, People’s Press, 2009, p. 35.) which signaled the transition of the Chinese ancestors from their primitive natural consciousness to complicated spiritual beliefs.

In view of these ancient myths and natural faiths, the Chinese antiquity is actually an age of “Multi-religions.” The universal existence of such religious cognition and spirituality, as the spiritual aspect of the ancients, conditioned the genesis of their religious faith. To the ancient people, their religious faith is “diffuse”; “Religious ideas, which do not necessitate any organization or institution, encompass the worship and mysticism manifested in the daily lives of people, both primitive and modern”^②; yet for the tribes, their religious faith is “collective”, and their totem worship is a reflection of the kind of “collective consciousness”. The transition from the “spontaneous religion” or natural religion to state religion or national religion is marked by the religious reform that “breaks the communication between Heaven and Earth” initiated by the ancient emperor Zhuan Xu. Zhuan Xu was one of the mythical “Five Emperors” or “Five Sovereigns” in ancient China, the grandson of the Yellow Emperor according to legend. Before him, the Chinese ancients’ religions were in a chaotic state where “gods were mixed with men and men were in unity with gods”, manifesting a trend of the identity of gods and men

and the oneness of heaven and earth; everywhere “people were found practicing witchcraft,” with a total mixture of men and gods, without any rules or regulations. Therefore, Zhuan Xu centered the religious power on himself and regulated the religious activities, establishing proprieties according to ghosts and rituals and upholding purity and sincerity in worship, so the state had since controlled and managed the religious rituals. Later on, the Confucian religion developed out of the Confucian School, and acquired the status of state religion when the Confucian official Dong Zhongshu was in power. With the introduction of Buddhism, the coexistence of Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism came into being, which, compounded by the native or foreign folk beliefs, contributed to the kaleidoscopic ancient Chinese religions. Thus, it cannot be denied that abundant religious faith resources existed in Chinese history, and that the Chinese religious history was also an important element of China’s cultural history and the embodiment of the Chinese spirit of faith.

The open and all-embracing nature of the Chinese religious faith led to the communication between Chinese and foreign religions along the Silk Road, with the mutual infiltration and fusion of the diverse religions being a great tradition of Chinese religious faith. For instance, imported religions like Buddhism, Hinduism, Christianity, Islam, Zoroastrianism (also called the “Xian” Teachings or the “Fire-Worshipping” Religion), Manicheism, Judaism, Baha’i, etc. constituted the splendid picture of the Chinese religious faith. This tradition of religious faith has never been interrupted ever since; instead, it has always been in evolution, transformation, substantiation and perfection, comprising the precious legacy and abundant possessions of the Chinese spiritual life. Therefore, in understanding the faith of the Chinese people, the religious faith is indispensable.

References

- Dainian, Z. (1994). *A survey of Chinese culture* (pp. 231–265). Beijing: Beijing Normal University Press.
- Zehou, L. (1986). *History of ancient Chinese thought* (p. 306). Beijing: People’s Press.

Chapter 2

The Chinese Understanding of Religion

2.1 The Meaning of Religion

Ancient China did not witness the combined usage of the two words *zong* and *jiao* (“religion”), yet the religious connotations of each of them could be extracted from classical anthologies. The character “*zong*” originally has meanings related to the institution, structure and space of religions, including (1) “ancestral shrine”, as recorded in The Chapter Dayu Mo (The Counsels of Yu the Great) from *The Book of History*, and “Shrine of gods, or the Shrine of Wenzu” in *Amplification of the Book of History*; (2) “ancestors,” according to the note to “If no punishment was issued by Jingong, he could take the inherited position,” which reads “inherit the position of his ancestors” in *The Zuo Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals*, Cheng Gong, year 3; (3) “patriarchal clan,” according to “Songs of the Five Sons” in *The Book of Documents*, which records “Wildly have we dropped the clue he gave us, /Overturning our temple, and extinguishing our sacrifices” and its note “the neglect and abandonment of Taikang led to the loss of his profession, and the discontinuity of his ancestral clan and the termination of sacrificial rites”; (4) “turn to,” as in “the Yangtze River and Han River flow to the sea” from “Tribute of Yu” in *The Book of History*; (5) “to be presented at court,” as in “being presented at court in Spring is called *chao* and in the Summer *zong*,” from the section of “the Chief Overseer of ritual affairs” in “Spring offices” from *Rites of Zhou*; (6) “revere,” as in “When the sincere and polite clansmen are to meet the dukes, the rite is done according to order not unlike that of the sacrificial rite to heaven and earth” from “Announcement concerning Luoyang” in *Book of Documents*, and in the lines “to the powers above and below I have presented my offerings and then buried them/there is no spirit whom I have not honored” from “Cloud river” in the “Major Court Hymns” of *The Classic of Poetry*; (7) “original source,” as in “only for the present a mere man, but he will return to his original source” from “Knowledge Rambling in the North” of *Zhuangzi*; (8) “gist,” as in “being polite to guests and taking pity on those who are in straits constitute the gist of propriety” from

Discourses of the States (“Discourses of Jin,” *Jinyu*, No. 4); (9) “sect,” as in “Practicing the Southern Chan sect with one Alms bowl/An excuse of illness with the demeanor of a monk” from the poem “Twenty Lines to Master Yuanfu of Kaiyuan Temple on a Winter Day” by the poet Xu Hun in his *Ding Mao Ji*. From such expressions can be found meanings related to forms of religious organizations, locations of activities, social structures, ritual and institutions, historical continuity, etc. Back in the era of Yu Shun, one of Five legendary Emperors, there were already activities of religious worship and sacrifice, as recorded in “...sacrificed with reverent purity to the Six Honored Ones” from the chapter “Canon of Yao” of *The Book of Documents*. Six Honored Ones refers to the Heavenly Three, that is, the sun, moon and stars, and the Earthly Three, namely, rivers, seas and mountains. *Shuowenjiezi* (Explaining Graphs and Analyzing Characters) defines “zong” as “zong, ancestral shrines, with two radicals 宀 and 示.” The radical 宀 has meanings of buildings, houses and locations; 示 itself has the two radicals of “二” (denoting “above or heaven”) and “川” (the three vertical strokes, standing for Sun, Moon, and Stars). Thus, *Shuowenjiezi* defines the “zong” as follows: 示 implies that heaven uses the celestial movements and other signs to tell people when things will be good and when bad times are coming (it follows “二”); the three revelations are the sun, the moon and the stars, and if you observe the celestial movement to compare to current events, it will show you gods’ wills.”

The word “jiao”, in its lexical legacy, has meanings of school of thought, thought, theories, and doctrines, denoting “following the teacher” and “attaining the Tao through learning.” In this aspect, the “jiao” in “zongjiao” and that in “jiaohua” have no fundamental differences or absolute boundaries. The original meanings of “jiao” include: (1) “political education” or “civilization”, as in “as a senior governmental official,¹ you should revere and carry out the Five Teaching” from the chapter “Canon of Yao” of *The Book of Documents*, and *The Annotations of The Book of Rites* has “When we visit a country, we can sense what education is provided there”; (2) “educate” or “admonish,” as in “...and if they are well fed, warmly clad, and comfortably lodged, without being taught at the same time, they become almost like the beasts” from *The Works of Mencius-Teng Wen Gong I*, and Dalu in *Xunzi* has “*The Book of Poetry* says, give them food and drink/provide them with education and morality”; (3) “instruct” or “preach,” as stated in “...I know that I am insufficient even for this, and must be allowed even in the rule of my family to act as I shall be instructed by you” from *Zuo Zhuan, Duke Xiang, Year 26*; (4) “order” or “command,” as in “...brought about a communication between Wu and Jin, and made Wu revolt from Chu” from *Zuo Zhuan, Duke Xiang, Year 26*, and *Records on Tang Poetry* has the lines “O, Chase those golden nightingales away!/They must not chirp, keep chirping, up my tree”; (5) “doctrines or theory,” as in “fellows gather students to instruct and learn/Fellows swarm in companies” from “Epitaph for Mr He, the Traveling Soldier” by Emperor Jian Wen Di of the Liang Dynasty, and “Discourse on Turning the Wheel of the Dharma” in *Lalitavistara*

¹Translator note: 故作司徒 should be 汝作司徒.

Sutra also has statements like “The Buddha enlightens sentient beings with expedient means according to occasions.” As a matter of fact, the word “jiao” had already been used in China’s high antiquity to express people’s “faith in ways of the gods”, as manifested in the Guan Hexagram of the *Book of Changes*: “When we contemplate the spirit-like way of Heaven, we see how the four seasons proceed without error. The sages, in accordance with (this) spirit-like way, laid down their instructions, and all under heaven yield submission to them”; the Confucian classic Doctrine of the mean points out that “What Heaven confers is called nature/Accordance with this nature is called the Tao/Cultivating the Tao is called education (religion)”; “Meaning of Sacrifices” in *Record of Rites* provides a more definite explanation, “unifying gods and ghosts constitutes the ultimate pursuit of education.” The religious connotation of the word “jiao” originated in the Shang Dynasty, referring to the religious practitioners, taking on the meaning of “priest” in the Spring and Autumn Period, and later evolving to mean “educate”, “teacher”, “education” etc., so Cai Yunpei in his *Treatise on Buddhism Protecting the Nation* connected “jiao” and “guo (nation),” by stating that “A nation is formed by grouping men, and education functions in clarifying the Tao of inter-personal relationships. A nation without education would come to ruins due to the bestiality of men; therefore, all forms of education aim at protecting the nation. Our nation’s education started with Xie, an ancestor of the kings of the Shang dynasty, and with Confucius came the first educators.”

In China, the combined usage of the two characters “zongjiao” originated with the Buddhist terminology. In his “Answer to Master Fa Yun in Writing Against ‘On the Annihilation of the Soul’”, Yuan Ang (459–540) of the Liang Dynasty mentioned that “looking up to seek the sacred canons, with manifest expressions and no wu (nothingness); yet all should be rooted in teaching (*zongjiao* or religion) and take refuge in the you (thingness)”. In “Letter to Wendi Emperor in Presenting the Catalog of the Sutras”, Shi Fajing of the Sui Dynasty, when explaining the purpose for editing the sutras, emphasized “eulogizing orthodox scriptures, manifesting religions, glorifying previous traditions and promoting future learning”. In Chan Master Guifengzongmi’s “Answers to Shi, the Mountain Man”, Chapter 13 of *Record of the Transmission of the Lamp [Buddhist Doctrines] in the Jingde Era* is recorded “After the nirvana of the Buddha, the teaching was transmitted to MahaKasyapa, in a one-master lineage, which could be interpreted as the fact that the religious leader of a time is like the one and only sovereign of a state; it does not mean that the liberated ones are so few.” Chapter Seven (“Chan Master Huanglong Huinan”) of *Sequel to Record of the Transmission of the Lamp* states that “a senior named Shen Li, observing that the gentleman was exhausted from traveling, said to him that ‘I have long resided in the mountains, having not yet complemented the teaching from the root (*zongjiao*); how dare I burden you with temple affairs?’”. Since then, the Buddhist tradition regarded what the Buddha said as “jiao (teaching)” and what the disciples taught as “zong (sect)”, with zong being the sects of Buddhism, and the two, combined, was termed “zongjiao (religion)”. Originally, “zongjiao” referred to the “doctrines” of Buddhism; later it was used to as a general term for all “faith in the Tao of gods”; thus, the Chinese term “zongjiao” began to

denote “the tenets of life and the transformative education of the society,” taking on the meaning of religious faith.

The convergence of the Chinese term for religion and the Western word “religion” concurred in the latter half of the 19th century, reflecting the in-depth communication between Chinese and Western cultures. This correspondence of the two terms was introduced to China “via Japan”. Since 1868, the term religion had been translated into “宗教” in The Meiji government documents, and it kept appearing in treaties of commerce and navigation and works that introduced the West, for instance, in Yochi Shinzu’s *Records of Things Heard and Seen in the West*. The earliest influence on the Chinese use of religion into “zongjiao” was attributed to Huang Zunxian and his *Annals of Japan*. The draft of the book was completed in 1887 and published in 1895. Commenting on “Huaxia” and “Taixi”, the book mentioned “the differences between the customs, folklore, religions and politics of the countries” (Zheng 2014), employing the word “zongjiao” in many instances. However, the Chinese academia at the time did not commonly accept Huang’s translation of the term religion into “zongjiao”, with some scholars even preferring the transliteration of “erlilijing.” Peng Guangyu, the only Chinese representative who participated in the World’s Parliament of Religions held in Chicago in 1893, translated “erlilijing” into “wu (spirit medium or shaman)” and the terms for Christian missionaries, priests and bishops into “zhu (Invocators)”, arguing that “religion” in Chinese should be termed as “divination with mystical theology” (Chen Wei Zi Xue). Later on, other scholars proposed the word “Tao” to interpret “religion”, yet circumstances change with the passage of time, and now “religion” is translated into “zongjiao” in today’s China.

With the unified continuity within the tradition of Chinese religions, the localization of foreign religions in China is also influenced by the features of “synthesis” and “unification” in Chinese culture. In view of the Chinese historical tradition, the Chinese religious faith has a high degree of humanistic bent, This-Shore orientation, and utilitarian inclination, so it is more secular and more reliant upon politics. Historically, there is a dualistic tendency in the development of Chinese religions, that is, the political and the scholastic religions will take “the upper-level line”, seemingly diverging from the grassroots and folklore religions, and creating an impression of differences even within the same religious faith. In addition, the “association” of Chinese religions is equally complicated, difficult to be clarified by the two modes of constructiveness and diffusiveness. Some religious associations are very conscious about their community, with strict and sound organizing principles, while others are more floating and lack in regularity. When it comes to the nature of traditional Chinese religions, there is the differentiation between “folk religions” and “folk beliefs”. But some religions, though having no religious orders in the strict sense, are affiliated to and manifested by the communities in the lower strata of the society. In this way, the Chinese faith development is closely and indivisibly linked to China’s social construction and cultural propagation. The Chinese religious faith endures today despite countless difficulties and setbacks, manifesting a strong presence in the contemporary multiculturalism. Thus, a recognition, tolerance and forbearance of the Chinese religious faith is indispensable to the sustainable and

sound development of the Chinese society. The Chinese religious faith serves as a historical mirror, making us view the world as clearly as a blazing fire, enlightening and shaping the future.

2.2 The Spiritual Aspiration of Religion

Religion manifests the spiritual aspiration of man, reflecting his uncertainty between the sacred and the secular, his indetermination between eternity and reality, and his lingering between the supernatural and the natural. The Chinese regard religion as also a yearning for and a pursuit of the sanctified way of life, believing in the divine law of “There is always a god overseeing you somewhere above your head,” and hoping to obtain a “catharsis” and purification of the soul through religious cultivation. According to Chinese Buddhism, “the heart of the faithful one is rendered clear and pure”; religion could help to “purify one’s mind,” and to develop “a profound righteousness and a pure nature”, which in turn enables one to “abstain from unwholesome deeds, and perform only the wholesome ones.” The Buddhist concept of “the original purity of human nature” emphasizes the purification of one’s heart and the restoration of human nature to simplicity and innocence, aiming to locate one’s inherent “Buddha nature” directly. With “Buddha nature” as a transcendence of the “human nature,” Buddhism reveals its spirit of seeking the abstract benti (origin–substance). Based on its “Treatise on Buddha-nature”, Buddhism proposes a “jumping out of” and transcendence of the mundane world, that is, seeing through the nature of the worldly existence, having an insight into the “great chiliocosm” (daqian shijie), and emphasizing that “the myriads of phenomena before our eyes belong to one true dharma-dhatuu”.

Taoism, as a classic model of the Chinese traditional religions, also stresses the simplicity and purity of “the way of Heaven is the state of the Self” and “Tao follows the ways of itself”. Yet, the actualization of this simplicity requires people to “appear plain, hold nativeness, reduce selfishness and diminish desires”; only in so doing can one rejoice in heaven and know about destiny, and achieve the realm of “Heaven, Earth and I co-exist, and all things and I are one”, that is, unity with the Tao. The Taoist detachment and tranquility enables one to contemplate and seek the Tao that “regulates the myriad of things” and “master the truth of all ages”. Taoism understands “Tao” as the transcendent benti (Origin–Substance) and the ideal realm man yearns for and pursues. In terms of its origin and transcendence, “Tao is the holding of nothingness, the root of creation, the origin of divinity, and the beginning of Heaven and Earth.”² Meanwhile, when “contemplating the Way of Heaven and sticking to the Heaven’s order,” man should observe “the Tao of man.” One’s aspiration in life consists in holding the “Way of Heaven” and the “Way of Man,” which could not be rendered as compulsory and burdensome; in terms of the Taoist

²*Treatise on the Mysterious Matrix* by Wu Yun of Tang Dynasty.

insight, “(Tao’s) placidity is unlimited, while all things to be valued attend them: such men pursue the way of heaven and earth, and display the characteristics of the sages.”³ If a man could achieve this state, he would “take all vicissitudes in life as manifestations of his destiny, which is the perfection of virtues.”⁴ Such tranquility and naturalness faithfully mirrors the religious spirit of rooting in the self and transcending the self.

Confucianism is generally viewed as man’s reverence for “humanistic spirit” and emphasis on “human learning”, rooted in “the measure of man”, a concept that reflects “the virtues of Heaven and Earth” and “the heart of Heaven and Earth”. Yet heaven worship transforms the Confucian School that upholds the “benevolence” of the family and state into the Confucian religion that expresses a transcendental pursuit. Heaven and earth, in their naturalistic aspects, do not necessitate reverence, and a “reticent” attitude towards them could have been adequate. However, the Confucian religion not only manifests appropriate worship to heaven and earth, but also investigates the “origin-root of the Tao of heaven”, professing a spiritual pursuit of “clarifying the origin of the myriads of things and the beginning of heaven and earth”, and manifesting the coexistence of the Three Teachings of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism in Classical Chinese culture. Thus, according to the argument of Ren Jiyu, “though lacking in the external features of mass religions, Confucianism has all the fundamental characteristics of all religions” (Jiyu 1980). The Confucian religion attributes enlightenment to the ontological “The Tao comes from Heaven” and relates itself to the concepts of “Tao civilizes people” and “Tao moralizes people” in man’s social life, from which its religious spirit is manifested. In the Confucian religious tradition, “Heaven” has its unique status of supremacy; in the later feudal dynasties of China, it functioned as the “national religion” of the imperial power, and only the “Son of Heaven” (the emperor) was qualified to make sacrifices to heaven, while the subjects’ sacrifices to Heaven would be considered a transgression; anyway, various lower-ranked “sacrificing to the heavenly gods” became popular in the Chinese society.

In the Chinese religious tradition, many religions have the utilitarian worshiping of gods and praying for blessings, resulting in a sort of discomfort from the foul atmosphere of falling down to the tangible gods and various idols. But this is not the whole picture of Chinese religions; it is only the part that is “within shapes,” the part that needs constant improvement and adjustment. The true embodiment of the Chinese religious spirit is the “deification” and “sublimation” achieved through the “moralization” and “sanctification” of the human spirit that transcends the above mentioned tangible level of religious pursuit. We have not paid enough attention to this aspect in the past, or rather, it has been mostly ignored. And it is this true essence of the Chinese religions that we need to explore and promote. In the contemporary social life and religious practices, we should check the utilitarian degradation and promote the sublime spiritual realm.

³“Ingrained Opinions” of *Zhuangzi*.

⁴“In the Human World” of *Zhuangzi*.

2.3 The Social Existence of Religion

Religion is closely connected to Chinese society, and China's "ancestral clans" and "patriarchal systems" are too bound with it. The relationship of religion to Chinese society differs greatly from that of other countries or nations, for the dependence of Chinese religion on imperial power, its service for politics and its existence embedded in the society combine to make its "religiosity" less manifest, resulting in the conjecture that there was no religion in the ancient Chinese society, or other peculiar readings of Chinese religions. As opinions vary on whether religion is a "normal" phenomenon in China or whether China is a typical "secular country", no decision can be reached as a result of this cognitive disorganization.

It can be said that Chinese religion is a "normal" phenomenon in Chinese society. Yet, unlike other countries, Chinese religion's "normal" existence is subordinate to the "Kingly Way of Politics"; the Chinese political structure and the sovereign, the political autocrat, exert a great impact upon religions and hold sway over the social destiny of the religions. In the longstanding history of China, the Chinese society has not been a "secular country"; its overpowering political authority and its involvement in religions have rendered Chinese religions unable to exercise their supreme authority; the sovereigns have led and controlled the religions, molding China into a unique "unity of the political and the religious" or a "political and religious fusion". With political authority to "enforce justice on behalf of Heaven", acting as the "spokesperson for God", the "Son of Heaven" becomes the absolute "Heaven's Favored One"; people believe that "the heavenly father will love the 'Son of Heaven' as a father loves his son, and only the 'Son of Heaven', as the legal representative of man and heavenly God, can carry out the rituals of ritual sacrifice and worship of Heaven" (Tianshun 1982).

With the reform of "the isolation of Heaven and Earth", the Chinese religious authority came to be within the domain of the political institution, and emperors headed the grand ceremonies of ritual sacrifices to Heaven by means of Border Sacrifice, Temple Sacrifice and the fengshan offerings to Heaven and Earth. Such imperial authoritarianism in religious institutions and activities made it very difficult for Chinese religions to manifest their own authority, resulting in the absence of religions with a universal authority in its true sense. The Confucian religion, as the "national religion", had to be affiliated to the imperial power, and the deification of Confucius was an outcome of Emperor Wu of Han's policy of "Paying Supreme Tribute to Confucianism while Banning All Other Schools of Thought", thus initiating the transformation of the Confucian Teaching to Confucian Religion. With the founding of Confucian Religion by Dong Zhongshu, Confucius, though revered as the Lord of the religion, being granted titles such as "Sage Endowed by Heaven", "Heaven's bell with a wooden tongue", "Model Teacher for Ten Thousand Ages", "the Former Teacher, and the Great Completer, Supreme Sage", etc., was still regarded as a sage, not a "god"; besides, historically, the Confucian religion was always politically controlled and used, so its religiosity has always been blurred and questioned.

In view of the mixed nature of the Chinese ancient religions, as well as the complex relationships between religions and the patriarchal society, some scholars would rather prefer the term “traditional patriarchal religion” to Confucian Religion. Due to the political involvement and affiliation, the fate of Chinese religions is bound with that of the political system, and that is why the Confucian Religion died its natural death as a national religion when the The Xinhai (1911) Revolution overthrew China’s feudal rule. Nonetheless, ancient regions in China had not just their official manifestations; they had a parallel development in the folk forms. Some even believe that the true Chinese Confucian religion is not the one in the sense of the national religion, but its folk and non-official forms, which were closer to the society, for “when the rites are lost, people look for them in the wilds”. In reality, the folk Chinese religions have always been alive and active. After the “the isolation of Heaven and Earth” reforms and the retaking of power from the people as initiated by Zhuanxu, a mythological emperor of ancient China, the phenomena of “the mixture of human and deities” together with “everyone acting as ritual agents” had not been fundamentally changed; instead, the folk religions developed in wild profusion and “illicit shrines” seemed unstoppable. The kaleidoscopic nature of the Chinese religions made it difficult to find an accurate positioning and differentiation of the official and folk religions, and even the Confucian religion had diverse manifestations, both folk and official. The unified tradition of the Chinese “respect-heaven-follow-ancestor” also had its dual yet father-apart lines of official and folk development. Although these two poles both adhered to the tradition of “respect-heaven-follow-ancestor”, the religious impression is that the official practice is more devoted to revering heaven and the folk to following ancestors on the part of the clans and families.

This mainline religion is characterized by the correlation and differentiation of the Chinese concepts of respecting heaven and following ancestor, which comes to be aptly described by Mou Zhongjian in his “The Patriarchal Tradition of Religion” as “originating in the three dynasties of Xia, Shang and Zhou, and continuously reinforced later on, the traditional religion, which has at its core the heavenly god worship and ancestral worship, assumes all the basic features of average religions, that is, religious concepts, religious sentiments and sacrificial activities, but not independent organizations, with only the patriarchal, hierarchical institutions executing the various religious functions. The Son of Heaven, representing the royal family, would make sacrifices to heavenly gods, and the heads of the clan and the family would be in charge of sacrificing for ancestors. Respect-heaven-follow-ancestor and *shenzhongzhuiyuan* (paying careful attention in performing the funeral rites to parents, and being present at parents’ departure) are the basic requirements in terms of concepts and emotion. This type of religion has a close link to and a direct service for the patriarchal hierarchies and ideology” (Zhongjian 1989). This mainline religion of China, which “continued without interruption until the end of the Qing Dynasty”, also termed as “the Confucian Religion”, or fundamentally characterized as a “patriarchal traditional religion”, is in fact the main line or main trend manifested in the religious development of traditional Chinese society; moreover, according to Mou Zhongjian, it is precisely “an orthodox religious

tradition accepted by all walks of Chinese life and extending thousands of years without extinction.”

In fact, not only the Confucian Religion or “patriarchal traditional religion” has the combination of the official and folk characteristics; it is also the case with Buddhism and Taoism, being typical in the traditional Chinese society, though the latter two had more folk orientation and more connections to the life of the folks. These two types of religions, with both unique cooperation and competition or repulsion, manifest the fresh liveliness of the existence of religions in the Chinese society. China has never been a “secular society” since ancient times; instead, it is always full of religious elements and atmosphere.

In addition, against the background of cultural communication between China and the West, China embraces and absorbs not only Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism, but also different religions that came to China from other countries. Thus, China has a rich and colorful religious existence, reflecting not only indigenous traditions but also exotic flavors. From times immemorial to today, the religious presence in China is an indisputable fact that can never be neglected when it comes to understanding China and clarifying its nature.

2.4 Religion and National Traditions

Religion is closely related to the development of China’s ethnic groups, constituting an important part of the Chinese national tradition. China is a multi-ethnic country, with the Han ethnic group as the mainline totaling 1.2 billion out of the whole population of 1.3 billion. In today’s China, there are 55 minority nationalities with a population of more than 0.1 billion, inhabiting an immense area. At present, the autonomous regions of China account for 64% of its land area, the west and border lands being densely populated by the minority groups. China’s land border extends about two hundred and twenty thousand kilometers, of which one hundred and ninety thousand is in the ethnic areas. Of the 55 ethnic minorities, regional autonomy is practiced in 44 of them, with 5 autonomous regions, 30 autonomous prefectures and 120 autonomous counties (or banners), accounting for 71% of the total minority population; besides, over 30 are cross—border ethnic groups, with complicated international connections, tremendous international influence, and diverse religious beliefs.

According to the national census of 2010, of all the minority ethnic groups of China, 18 have a population over one million and 6 have a population of less than ten thousand. In terms of population and distribution, the Zhuang nationality has a population of over 16,920,000, inhabiting the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, Yunnan Province and Guizhou Province; the Hui Nationality has a population of over 10,580,000, inhabiting Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region and provinces of Gansu, Henan, Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region, Qinghai, Yunnan, Hebei, Shangdong, Anhui, Liaoning, Beijing Municipality, Heilongjiang, Tianjin Municipality, Jilin and Shanxi; the Man Nationality has a population of over

10,380,000, inhabiting provinces of Liaoning, Jilin, Heilongjiang, Hebei, Beijing Municipality, and Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region; the Uighur Nationality has a population of about 10,006,000, inhabiting mainly the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region, with a small portion in Hunan Province; the Miao Nationality has a population of about 9,420,000, inhabiting provinces of Guizhou, Yunnan, Hubei, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, Sichuan, Guangdong and Hubei; the Yi Nationality has a population of about 8,710,000, inhabiting provinces of Sichuan, Yunnan, Guizhou and Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region; the Tujia Nationality has a population of about 8,710,000, inhabiting provinces of Hunan, Hubei, Guizhou, Sichuan and Chongqing Municipality; the Tibetan Nationality has a population of about 6,280,000, inhabiting provinces of the Tibetan Autonomous Region, Sichuan, Gansu and Yunnan; the Mongolian Nationality has a population of about 5,980,000, inhabiting provinces of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, Liaoning, Jilin, Heilongjiang, Qinghai, Hebei, Henan, Gansu and Yunnan; the Dong Nationality has a population of about 2,880,000, inhabiting provinces of Guizhou, Hunan and the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region; the Buyi Nationality has a population of about 2,870,000, inhabiting mostly Guizhong Province; the Yao Nationality has a population of about 2,790,000, inhabiting the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, and provinces of Hunan, Yunnan, Guangdong, Guizhou and Sichuan; the Bai Nationality has a population of about 1,930,000, inhabiting provinces of Yunnan and Guizhou; the Korean Nationality has a population of about 1,830,000, inhabiting provinces of Jilin, Heilongjiang and Liaoning; the Hani Nationality has a population of about 1,660,000, inhabiting mainly Yunnan Province; the Li Nationality has a population of about 1,460,000, inhabiting mainly Hainan Province; the Kazakh Nationality has a population of about 1,460,000, inhabiting Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region and Gansu Province; the Dai Nationality has a population of about 1,260,000, inhabiting mainly Yunnan Province; the She Nationality has a population of about 700,000, inhabiting provinces of Fujian, Zhejiang, Jiangxi, Guangdong and Anhui; the Lili Nationality has a population of about 700,000, inhabiting provinces of Yunnan and Sichuan; the Dongxiang Nationality has a population of about 620,000, inhabiting Gansu Province and Xinjiang Autonomous Region; the Yilao Nationality has a population of about 620,000, inhabiting Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region and provinces of Guizhou and Yunnan; the Lahu Nationality has a population of about 480,000, inhabiting mainly Yunnan Province; the Wa Nationality has a population of about 420,000, inhabiting mainly Yunnan Province; the Shui Nationality has a population of about 410,000, inhabiting mainly Guizhou Province and Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region; the Naxi Nationality has a population of about 320,000, inhabiting mainly provinces of Yunnan and Sichuan; the Qiang Nationality has a population of about 300,000, inhabiting mainly Sichuan Province; the Tu Nationality has a population of about 280,000, inhabiting mainly provinces of Qinghai and Gansu; the Mulao Nationality has a population of about 210,000, inhabiting mainly Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region; the Xibo Nationality has a population of about 190,000, inhabiting mainly Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region, Liaoning Province and Jilin Province; the Kirgiz Nationality has a

population of about 180,000, inhabiting mainly Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region and Heilongjiang Province; the Jingpo Nationality has a population of about 140,000, inhabiting mainly Yunnan Province; the the Daur [Tahur] Nationality has a population of about 130,000, inhabiting mainly Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, Heilongjiang Province and Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region; the Sala Nationality has a population of about 130,000, inhabiting mainly Qinghai Province and Gansu Province; the Bulang Nationality has a population of about 110,000, inhabiting mainly Yunnan Province; the Maonan Nationality has a population of about 100,000, inhabiting mainly Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region; the Tajik Nationality has a population of about 50,000, inhabiting mainly Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region; the Pumi Nationality has a population of about 40,000, inhabiting mainly Yunnan Province; the Achang Nationality has a population of about 39,000, inhabiting mainly Yunnan Province; the Nu Nationality has a population of about 37,000, inhabiting mainly Yunnan Province; the Evenki Nationality has a population of about 30,000, inhabiting mainly Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region and Heilongjiang Province; the Jing Nationality has a population of about 28,000, inhabiting mainly Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region; the Jino Nationality has a population of about 23,000, inhabiting mainly Yunnan Province; the Deang Nationality has a population of about 20,000, inhabiting mainly Yunnan Province; the Baoan Nationality has a population of about 20,000, inhabiting mainly Gansu Province; the Russian Nationality has a population of about 15,000, inhabiting mainly Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region; the Yugu Nationality has a population of about 14, 000, inhabiting mainly Gansu Province; the O'zbeklar Nationality has a population of about 10,000, inhabiting mainly Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region; the Menba Nationality has a population of about 10,000, inhabiting mainly the Tibetan Autonomous Region; the Oronco Nationality has a population of about 8,600, inhabiting mainly Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region and Heilongjiang Province; the Dulong Nationality has a population of about 6,900, inhabiting mainly Yunnan Province; the Hezhe Nationality has a population of about 5,000, inhabiting mainly Heilongjiang Province; the Gaoshan Nationality has a population of about 4,000, inhabiting mainly Taiwan Province and Fujian Province; the Luoba Nationality has a population of about 3,600, inhabiting mainly Tibetan Autonomous Region; and the Tataer Nationality has a population of about 3,500, inhabiting mainly Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region.

In China, Confucianism or the traditional patriarchal religions have the longest historical standing, indispensably connected to the development of the Chinese nationality, particularly the Han nationality. Since Emperor Wudi of the Han Dynasty's "Dismissing the hundred schools, and revering only the Confucian School" at the suggestion of the Confucian Scholar Dong Zhongshu, the Confucian School was elevated to the Confucian Religion, serving as the official religion of China. From Western Han Dynasty to the the Xinhai Revolution of 1911 that overthrew the Qing Dynasty, the Confucian religion continued for more than 2000 years as the official religion of China, exerting a profound influence on the Chinese people, particularly the Han nationality, and molding their national

uniqueness. After the Xinhai Revolution, the Confucian religion revived and survived tenaciously in the form of “the teaching of Confucius” (Kong jiao) among the grassroots level of the Chinese society and the intellectuals. In the patriarchal system of the Chinese society, as well as in the disposition and spirit of the Chinese intellectuals, we can still perceive the Confucian factors and sense the Confucian faith.

Of the 55 ethnic minorities, about 30 have retained their indigenous or primitive religious traditions. In the northeast and west of China, the Shamanistic traditions that originated in the later periods of ancient primitive religions still persist, manifest in the religious traditions of the nationalities of Hezhe, Oronco, Ewenkis, daur, etc. Naturalistic religions, such as animal worship, plant worship, celestial worship, ancestral worship, Totemism, etc., are found in the central and southwest regions, practiced by the nationalities of Naxi, Jino, Wa, Miao, Yao, Dong, Mulao, Luoba, Menba, etc.; besides, the traditional Bön religion of the Tibetan nationality and Zhuang nationality is also categorized in this tradition.

Buddhism, since its entry to China in 2 B.C., has until now a history of over 2000 years, branching into the Northern School, Southern School and Tibetan School, with the Mahayana Northern School accepted by nationalities of Han, Bai, Yi, Naxi, and Lahu, also popular among Zhuang and Mulao nationalities; the Southern Theravada School is followed mainly by nationalities of Dai, Deang, Achang, Bulang, and Lahu; Tibetan Buddhism is popular mostly among Tibetans, Mongolians, Tu, Yugu and luoba.

The indigenous Taoist religion originated from the thought of Laozi and Zhuangzi, with its religious existence later than the entry of Buddhism. Having a history of nearly 2000 years, it has followers mainly from the Han nationality, yet it also has a wide acceptance among the minority nationalities such as Yao, Tujia, Buyi, Mulao and Maonan. In addition, the Taoist religion also finds followers among the ethnic minorities such as Zhuang, Dong, Miao, Jing, Yi, Li, Naxi and Qiang.

Christianity first entered China in the Tang Dynasty, followed by Roman Catholicism, Eastern Orthodox, Protestantism, spreading widely in the Han populated areas and some minority areas inhabited by ethnic groups of Korean, Russian, Qiang, Yi, Bai, Hani, Jingpo, Dulong, Lahu, Wa, Nu, Miao and Gaoshan. Such minority groups as Miao even integrated some Christian elements into their ethnic traditions.

Islam also entered China in the Tang Dynasty, undergoing complex evolution during its over 1300 years of development; it has now become the main religion of Hui, Uighur, Tartar, Tajik, Kirgiz, Uzbek, Dongxiang, Sala and Bao'an.

From the above, we can conclude that religion and the Chinese people are inseparable, as close as flesh and blood. In these ethnic areas, religion and ethnic traditions are intertwined, constituting even vital or main part of their ethnic culture. “All religious traditions have historically infiltrated people’s daily lives; traditional religious rites extend consecutively, forming a strong habitual force among believers. Especially in the areas densely populated by ethnic religious believers, religious life and ethnic life combine to form ethnic traditions, with the religious festivals constantly sparking believers’ religious sentiments; as a result of immersion in the religious rites, children raised in religious families tend to cultivate religious

sentiments, giving rise to a religious psyche hard to erase” (Wenxuan 1985). This combination of religions and ethnic traditions resulted in the important role or religions in the existence and development of the ethnic people, lending a religious element and an aura of faith to the people’s values, morals, folklore, customs and aesthetic dimensions; therefore, when communicating with these ethnic groups, we should pay attention to, understand and respect their religious faith.

2.5 Religion and Politics

Chinese religions have historically been closely related to politics, yet this relationship is different from the traditional western sense of the term; thus, the Chinese classical and modern concepts of the relationship between the state and the religions cannot be adequately explained by the western political-cultural models of “the unity of church and state”, “the cooperation of church and state”, “the agreement between church and state”, “the coordination of church and state”, “the separation of church and state”, “the segregation of church and state”, “the coexistence of church and state”, “the antagonism of church and state”, etc. In terms of ideas, traditions and practice, the China’s religion-state relationship that has extended till today in uniformity is the subordination of religion to the state; even though there are expressions like “unity of religion and state” or “national religions”, the religion serving the state relationships of “with the state at the center”, “the state regulating the religions”, “religions supporting the state”, and “subordinating religions to the state” can never be fundamentally changed.

The imperial politics formed during ancient China and the ensuing Great Unity of the Chinese Nation had granted a holy seal to the political power and authority: the emperor’s power is given by gods, and the emperor calls himself the Son of Heaven, so the emperor’s political function is to “comply with heaven’s decree to usher in peace and prosperity”, generating the sacred significance of “enforcing justice on behalf of Heaven” and “exercising the power on behalf of the gods”. Therefore, China never allows parallel powers or authorities, not to mention religions over-topping imperial politics; the political authority is always in charge and the over-acting religion has never been a problem in China. So the Chinese history never witnessed the parallel rule of religion and the state, and religion never forms an antagonism to politics and political power. In the ancient traditions of “national religions” marked by “the unity of religion and state”, it is not that the religious leaders mastered political authority, but that on the contrary, worldly rulers dominated the destiny of religions; in other words, politics “unified” religions.

In the initial stage of the Buddhist entry from India to China, some Buddhist monks, sticking to the revolutionary thoughts of the Indian Shramana, wanted to stress the supreme status of the “Buddha Dharma” and not to yield to the secular imperial powers, hence the “Shramana not bowing to emperors”, whereby monks, “abandoning the family and entering the Dharma, do not kneel down to emperors” for their ordained identity. This attitude had led to the difficult development of

Buddhism, not recognized by the emperors and not accepted by the society; for hundreds of years it did not make much progress and achieved quite little. In view of this, the “sinicization” of Buddhism started from the change of its political attitudes. Monk Dao'an of the 4th century, noticing the awkward situation of China's Buddhist development, changed the other-worldly attitude of the Buddhists who had a condescending attitude to the emperors and made his fellow monks realize the harsh reality of “without the support of the emperor, the Dharma cannot be established.” Thus, Buddhism was redirected into the engaged and worldly “Shramana showing respect to the emperors”, and the real nature of China's relationship between the state and religion was located, which contributed to the smooth “proselytization”. It was also the case for Christianity and Islam when they entered China. These foreign religions all more or less made compromises to the Chinese politics and had always been under the control of Chinese political power. Nonetheless, the Christian missionaries, with their powerful western political background, were very reluctant to submitting to China's political authority. Their inconstant, hesitant, and swaying attitude to Chinese politics rendered the sinicization insoluble and their fate in China not as smooth and clear as Buddhism.

Accordingly, in the Chinese politics, there had been since ancient times a set of political institutions and administrative systems to regulate and control religions. For instance, the establishment of Emperor Wudi of Han Dynasty's “revering only Confucianism” was the fundamental condition for the formation of the Confucian Religion, and the later “theocracy” or “the rule by national religion” represented by Confucianism was actually still “imperial politics” and “sovereign politics”. In the Confucian tradition, the grand ceremony of “Sacrificing to Heaven” could only be led by the emperor and it could never expect to transcend the imperial power, not to the least extent. So it can be said that the Chinese “religion” has much political connotation, and “instruction and transformation through the way of the gods” is closely linked to and complement the political “social instruction and transformation”; therefore, the “jiao” in “zongjiao” (religion) does not go against the “jiao” in “jiaohua” (instruct and transform): there are inner echoes and complementary elements between them.

Although some Chinese emperors themselves may have a special liking or partiality for a certain religion, his faith in it would not interfere with his control and regulation of it. For instance, out of his vehement faith in Buddhism, Emperor Wudi of Liang Dynasty in the 6th century was said to have, for three or four times, abandoned his imperial status to reside in the monasteries, and his court had to spend a large ransom to get him back. But he was not at all merciful when it came to the regulation of the monks and nuns; he administered rather strict rules on them. The vegetarian codes and regulations were all stipulated by him. Kubla khan of the 13th century had a very tolerant attitude toward the entry of such religions as Christianity, Islam, Judaism and Buddhism, but his ultimate intent was to use all these religions to serve his political rule. The Qing emperors granted the titles of lamas to manifest their imperial authority and formed the system of “drawing lots from the golden urn” in confirming which children to be the reincarnated lamas. Emperor Kangxi of the Qing Dynasty had initially favored Catholicism, showing

much politeness and appreciation to it, but once involved in “the Rites Controversy of China”, he **banned** the religion *without any hesitation*. Thus, it is an indisputable fact that in the history of the relationship between state and religion of China, politics had always been more powerful than religions, and religions had always been in a relatively weak position.

In order to exercise effective control of politics over the religions, the imperial powers of Chinese dynasties set up specific institutions to manage or regulate religions. Ancient Chinese political authorities had established executive positions in dealing with religious affairs in relevant departments. In Tang Dynasty, the “Bofang” functioned to regulate Muslims, and its “Chief” had to be approved and appointed by the government; with regards to Buddhism, Tang Dynasty also stipulated the Taoist and Buddhist ordination certificates and residential registration system. The Song Dynasty had “Bozhangsi” to be in charge of Muslim affairs, forming the routine practice of government deciding on the appointing or summoning of abbots through proper applications. The management of religions was expanded and systematized in the Yuan Dynasty, from the first level “Department of Political Promotion” to regulate Buddhism, through the second level “Department of Gathering Talents” to manage Daoism, to the “Branch of Revering Happiness” to control Christianity and the “Bureau of Hadji” to stipulate Islam. The Ming Dynasty’s “Department of Etiquette” was in charge of the Taoist and Buddhist monks; “the Department of Ethnic Groups” regulated the religious affairs of the border areas and translation; “Honglusi” was in charge of religious rituals; “bingbu” and “weisuo” were especially concerned with the development trends of ethnic and religious affairs. The Qing Dynasty set up “Lipanyuan” to regulate ethnic and religious affairs. In the Republican Era, Committee for Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs was in charge of ethnic and religious affairs. It is due to this continuity of the state-religion relationship and the Chinese government’s management of religious affairs that the contemporary Religious Affairs Bureau or Committee on Ethnicity and Religions has been established on solid historical foundations and sociopolitical needs. Only through an insight into traditional Chinese culture and social structure can we clarify and understand the relationship between Chinese religions and politics.

References

- Zheng, C. (Ed.). (2014). *Anthology of Huang Zunxian* (p. 334). Beijing: Renmin University of China Press.
- Jiyu, R. (1980). On the formation of the confucian religion. *Social Sciences in China*, 1.
- Tianshun, Z. (1982). *A preliminary inquiry into China’s ancient religions* (p. 264). Shanghai People’s Press.
- Zhongjian, M. (1989). *China’s religion and culture* (pp. 6–7). Bashu Books. (Prelude).
- Wenxuan, J. (1985). The roots and conditions for the survival of religions in socialist societies. *Studies of World Religions*, 3.

Chapter 3

The Indigenous Traditions of Chinese Religions

Abstract The lineage of Chinese religions can be traced to the primordial nature worship and ghost worship, from which was generated fertility worship that contemplated the origin of life and Totemism that perceived the social coexistence, followed by ancestor worship in the national sense, the primitive mythology in terms of cultural initiation and its organic combination of ideas and practice. All these constitute the origination and characteristics of Chinese indigenous religions.

3.1 The Lineage of Chinese Religions

The lineage of Chinese religions can be traced to the primordial nature worship and ghost worship, from which was generated fertility worship that contemplated the origin of life and Totemism that perceived the social coexistence, followed by ancestor worship in the national sense, the primitive mythology in terms of cultural initiation and its organic combination of ideas and practice. All these constitute the origination and characteristics of Chinese indigenous religions.

3.1.1 *Nature Worship*

Man's observation and understanding of the world have undergone stages of objectification, subjectification and the holistic. In the stage of objectification, man has not had the subjective self consciousness, lacking the capacity to separately observe and analyze himself, since man and the myriad things at this stage all belong to the category of natural objects. Yet man by means of his identity with the myriad things in terms of category and nature was able to deduce and explain nature to form animistic ideas. But once man appears weak and helpless in front of nature and generate feelings of fear, awe, reliance and mysteriousness, nature worship, the primitive religious phenomenon, would come into being, which is the birth of Primordial Religion or Folklore Religion as studied in the history of religions. In

the developmental history of ancient Chinese religions, such nature worship used to be a very universal phenomenon, and the natural world is one filled with all sorts of spirits.

In the eyes of ancient Chinese, these nature gods include all kinds of celestial objects, weather phenomena, land, mountains, rivers as well as the plants and animals nourished by them.¹ Celestial worship is mainly centered around the worship of the sun, the moon and stars; as mentioned earlier, the Chinese character “zong” has connotations of worshipping the “three lights of the sun, moon and stars” in the sky. In ancient Chinese documents were already recorded statements such as “the three celestial bodies in the sky are what the people revere most” (“Discourses of Lu” in *Discourses of the States*) and “to burn offerings for the sun, the moon and the stars” (“Chunguan zongbo” in *Rites of Zhou*).

The traces of ancient Chinese Sun God worship could be found in the symbols shaped like the sun, the moon and the stars inscribed on the pottery urns unearthed in River Lingyang in County Lv, belong to the Dawenkou Culture, in the sun-worshipping pictures of the rock paintings of Yinshan in Inner Mongolia, and in the colored pottery pieces in which were painted the sun, the moon and the stars unearthed at the site of Dahe Village in Zhengzhou City, Henan Province, belonging to the later stage of Rangshao Culture. Documents like *The Classic Of Mountains And Seas* record myths like “Xihe gives birth to ten suns”, “Houyi shoots down nine suns”, “Kuafu runs after the sun”, etc. all full of imagination and romance. According to *The Classic Of Mountains And Seas*, “outside of the East and South seas and among the Gan Shui Rivers was a country named Xihe where a lady called Xihe lived, who bathed one day in the River Ganyuan. Xihe is the wife of Emperor Jun, and she gave birth to ten suns” (Southern Classic of the Great Wilderness); “downward is located the State Tanggu, upward to which is Fusang, where ten suns bathe. North of Heichi and in the waters is a giant tree, where nine suns reside on the lower branches and one sun on the upper branch” (Eastern Classic Overseas); “in the Tanggu there is Tree Fumu, from which as soon as one suns comes the other rises, all carried on the back of the crow” (Eastern Classic of the Great Wilderness). Sun God worship was later integrated into the rites of ancient Chinese heaven sacrifices in which was the stipulated “sacrificing to the sun at the altar”, and heaven, as it is where the sun locates, became an important symbol of Yang. Since ancient Chinese rulers used to regard themselves as the descendants of the Sun God, the emperors of the dynasties of Xia and Shang all titled themselves with the “Heavenly Stems”. The primordial sun worship left an indelible imprint in the Chinese culture, and in the modern society’s ballads such as “all under heaven grow depending on the sun” and “the east reddens and the sun rises” we can still hear their ancient echoes.

Moon God worship is equally full of mysteries and wonders. *The Classic Of Mountains And Seas* record the statement of “Changxi, the wife of Emperor Jun,

¹This part was based on the revision and addition of relevant sections of my monograph *Religion and Culture*, pp. 115–140, People’s Press, 1988.

gave birth to twelve moons” (Western Classic of the Great Wilderness). The myths of Xihe giving birth to ten suns and Changxi giving birth to twelve moons are in accord with the ancient people’s use of the ten heavenly stems to calculate xun (10 days) and the 12 months to calculate 1 year. These mysterious connections tend to make people speculate on the dim traces of the existent complicated relationship between religion and science in China’s distant past. In addition, the “Teachings on the Spirits and Gods” in *Huainanzi* states, “in the sun is the crow, and in the moon is the toad.” “Chang’e flying to the moon”, “the jade white rabbit churns the medicinal herbs”, “Wugang chops down the laurel trees” and other moon myths are very popular among the Chinese folks.

Due to its clear whiteness and pure coldness, the moon became an important sign of Yin. Later on, with the combination of the Sun Worship and Moon Worship, the theories of Yin Yang were formed, that is, heaven and the sun are Yang while earth and the moon Yin. “The Great Border Sacrifice” in the *Book of Rites* states, “At the (Great) border sacrifice, he welcomed the arrival of the longest day. It was a great act of thanksgiving to Heaven, and the sun was the chief object considered in it’. The space marked off for it was in the southern suburb;—the place most open to the brightness and warmth (Yang)”; “The Meaning of Sacrifices” states, “The sacrifice in the suburb of the capital was the great expression of gratitude to Heaven, and it was specially addressed to the sun, with which the moon was associated”, “They sacrificed to the sun on the altar, and to the moon in the hollow;—to mark the distinction between (the) gloom (of the one) and (the) brightness (of the other), and to show the difference between the high and the low”, “The sun comes forth from the east, and the moon appears in the west; the darkness and the light are now long, now short; when the one ends, the other begins, in regular succession.” From them on, the coordination of the sun and moon sacrifices became the orthodox Chinese religious faith.²

The ancient Chinese observed the stars to speculate about human concerns, so worship of the stars was developed into astrology, taking on a humanistic feature. Stars became the symbols of the human soul and human life. As the saying goes, “a star in the sky represents a person on the earth”; when a person is born, there would be a new star arising, and when a person dies, a star falls down; in the *Romance of Three Kingdoms* is found “the General Star is about to fall, a man’s life span has come to an end” for the narration about Zhuge Liang (chancellor of the state of Shu Han during the Three Kingdoms period) before his death. In addition, these star gods were vividly depicted in the classical Chinese religions and folk beliefs, such as the 28 Constellations, as well as the Star Kui, Star of Longevity, Star of Literature, Xuanwu (Dark Warrior) and Doumu (The Dipper Mother). The gods of weather were closely related to the complicated weather conditions, giving rise to the ancient Chinese people’s worship and reverence to the wind, rain, clouds, fog and lightening. The image of the Wind God was often manifested by the birds, the typical ones being the phoenix, wind birds, etc. Many names of the Wind God were

²Mou and Jian (2000), p. 7.

recorded in ancient documents. The oracle bones recorded the classification of the wind gods into the four directions; *The Classic Of Mountains And Seas* called the wind god “Jun” or “yuan (name of a bird)”; the Chu people called the wind god “feilian” (Wang Yi’s annotations of *The Elegies of Chu* explained Feilian as Fengbo, the name of the God of Wind); *Comprehensive Meaning of Customs and Habits* termed the wind god “Broom Star” (which Li Shan noted as “the master wind is the Broom Star, in charge of bumping objects and causing wind and air”); Kong Yingda’s “Hongfan” of *The Book of Documents* also recorded “Broom Star enjoys wind”); the most popular wind god was called fengbo, also termed “qibo”, “fengshi”, etc.; The epic *Sixuanfu* (Prose Poem Meditating on Mystery) by Zhang Heng stated, “in Qibo is contained the wind, which changes the dirt into the clear and clean”.

The image of the Rain God is usually related to the Dragon God, as recorded in the “Eastern Classic of the Great Wilderness” that regarded the the dragon as the Rain God: “during the drought seasons, the shapes of dragons were made, so heavy rains began to fall.” Ancient Chinese myths usually call the god in charge of the rain as “yushi” (Master of Rain). “Ten Faults” of *Hanfeizi*: “in the past, the Yellow Emperor coordinated ghosts and gods on Mount Tai... The Wind God was sweeping the roads and the Master of Rain was sprinkling rain drops.”; “Codes of Sacrifice” of *Comprehensive Meaning of Customs and Habits* regarded the Black Darkness as the Master of Rain; “Chunguanshang” of *Rites of Zhou* (with notes by Zheng Xuan) regarded Bisu as the Master of Rain; “Hongfan” of *Book of Documents* also records that “Star Bi brings the rain”; the Master of Rain was also called Pingyi, as in “the Master of Rains called forth the rain; how it was aroused” from “Heavenly Questions” in *The Elegies of Chu*; according to the notes of Wang Yi, “Zhen refers to Zhenyi, the name of the Master of Rain, also termed Pingyi”; Pingyi was also regarded as the Master of Rain in the notes of Guo Pu on “Eastern Classic Overseas” in *The Classic Of Mountains And Seas*. In the ancient myths, there were both gods and goddesses of rain, with a diversity of images. With the development of China’s agricultural culture, people prayed for favorable weather conditions, and the worship of rain gods and wind gods was continued.

The presence and change of clouds and fog are closely related to weather conditions. People predicted future according to the changing state of clouds, discerning its symptoms for blessings and misfortunes and seeking ways of avoiding disasters. The ancient people observed the shapes and colors of the clouds, categorizing them according to religious meanings into different types so as to determine whether they were auspicious ones and figure out proper ways of divination accordingly. Goddesses were usually attributed to the clouds, such as the “Mianmu” in the oracle bones and the “Lord of the Clouds” in “Nine Songs” of *The Elegies of Chu*.

The god in charge of thunder is called Thunder God, also termed Lord of Thunder or God of Thunder. “Heavenly Drum” in *Miscellaneous Notes of Cloud Immortals* states, “the thunder is called heavenly drum and thunder god is called Lord of the Thunder.” Here thundering is compared to drumming, a later development of its faith. The poet Qu Yuan in his *Encountering Sorrows* also mentioned

the name of the Thunder God, “the Blue Bird and the Phoenix are making the way for me ahead, yet the Thunder God told me that not all was ready.” “Eastern Classic within the Seas” of *The Classic of Mountains and Seas* attributed animal images to the thunder God: “in the Thunder lake was a god, with a dragon body and a human head, drumming his belly, in the west of Wu.” “Treatise on Topography” of *Huainanzi* states, “in the Thunder lake was a god, with a dragon body and a human head, drumming his belly and playing.” Thus, the Taoist religion revered this god as the Thunder God according to the legendary depiction of the Yellow Emperor as having the body of a dragon, giving him the title of “Perfect King of Universal Transformation Whose Voice of Thunder Resonates with the Origin of the Nine Heavens.” The Taoist religion also believed that thunder could be the “spokesperson” for heaven, as stated in its *Jade Book of Thunderbolts from the Mystery Capital of Jade Clarity and Great Purity of the Star of Purple Subtlety in the Nine Heavens of the Most High*, “[the Thunder God] is in charge of the fortunes and misfortunes of heaven, the measure of materials, things and men, birth and death.” Thunder and lightning worships are usually intertwined and echo each other, reflecting the ancient people’s observation of lightning flashes and booming thunders. Yet, because thunder gods are usually male, they are therefore matched by lightening goddesses, that is, Queen Mother of Lightning, in charge of lightening. Du Ang of Ming Dynasty in his *Sanyu Redundant Notes* said “thunder and lightening are popularly referred to as Lord Thunder and Mother Lightening, and there do exist reasons for this.” *The Book of Change* states, “Zhen is thunder, and Li is lightening.” Zhen is the eldest son, characterized by Yang; from thunder comes the Yang energy of heaven, so thunder is popularly called Lord of Thunder. Li, as the middle daughter, is characterized by Yin; from lightening arises the Yin energy of the earth, so it is popularly called Mother Lightening.” Lord Thunder and Mother Lightening are both shaped in the form of dragons, because the ancients would associate the sounds and shapes of thunder and lightning with dragons, believing that the thunder roars are from the dragon drumming his belly and that the flashing twists of the lightening are the appearances of the dragons in their motion.

The worship of the earth, mountains and rivers merit a long history in China. In “The law of sacrifices” of *Book of Rites* is recorded “mountains, forests, streams, valleys, hills, and mounds, which are able to produce clouds, and occasion winds and rain, were all regarded as (dominated by) spirits.” The earth corresponds with the celestial bodies, accounting for one important dimension in unity of heaven, earth and man: man exists between heaven and earth. *The Book of Change* in comparing heaven, earth and man, states, “Heaven, in its motion, (gives the idea of) strength. The superior man, in accordance with this, nerves himself to ceaseless activity. The (capacity and sustaining) power of the earth is what is denoted by Kun. The superior man, in accordance with this, with his large virtue supports (men and) things.” The heavenly Qian is a metaphor for Yang, to be associated with “Heavenly Father”; the earthly Kun is marked by Yin, habitually called “Mother Earth”. In Chinese mythology, “Houtu” in correspondence with the Yellow Emperor is a goddess, called “High Motherly Goddess”. Yet, in ancient China, the god of the land was also male, so the ancients expected that the gentleman “with his

large virtue supports (men and) things.” The Chinese ancients termed the god of the land “God of She” or Lord of She. According to “The single victim at the border sacrifices” in the *Book of Rites*, “In the sacrifice at the She altars they dealt with the earth as if it were a spirit. The earth supported all things, while heaven hung out its brilliant signs. They derived their material resources from the earth; they derived rules (for their courses of labour) from the heavens. Thus they were led to give honour to heaven and their affection to the earth, and therefore they taught the people to render a good return (to the earth).” Besides, the personification of the God of She could mean “Houtu”, the son of the God Gong Gong, as recorded in “The law of sacrifices” of *Book of Rites*, “Hou-tu, a son of the line of Gong-gong, that swayed the nine provinces, who was able to reduce them all to order, and was sacrificed to as the spirit of the ground”; there was Yu the Great who successfully harnessed the floods, as in “Fanlunxun” of *Huainazi*, “Yu worked hard for the land and died as the She”; there was Li, the son of Emperor Zhuanxu who practiced “the isolation of Heaven and Earth”, as noted in “Proceedings of Government in the Different Months” of the *Book of Rites*, “Houtu is the son of Zhuanxu, called Li, also serving as the God of Earth.” Generally, God of Land and God of Ji or God of Cereals, that is, the Agricultural God, both sharing a prominent position in ancient Chinese agricultural society. For this reason, ancient China compared the country to “Sheji (land and cereals)”, the worship of which equals ancestral worship, as recorded in “The meaning of sacrifices” of the *Book of Rites*, “The sites for the altars to the spirits of the land and grain were on the right; that for the ancestral temple on the left.” With the appearance of the political entity and its relationship to religions, the hierarchies of worshiping and sacrifices began to emerge, as recorded in “Royal Regulations” of the *Book of Rites*, “The son of Heaven sacrificed to Heaven and Earth; the princes of the states, to the (spirits of the) land and grain; Great officers offered the five sacrifices (of the house).”

The worship of mountains existed as early as the era of the legendary emperors Yu and Shun, with records of “a look at the mountains revealing a host of gods.” In ancient China, many mountains were granted godly titles, of which the so-called Wuyue (Five Sacred Mountains) were the famous ones where emperors frequently led sacrificial rites: “Northern Great Mountain”, “Southern Great Mountain”, “Eastern Great Mountain”, “Western Great Mountain”, and “Central Great Mountain”. “Record of Sacred Mountains and Rivers” of *Essentials of the Daoist Canons* deified the five sacred mountains, titling Eastern Great Mountain Tai as “God of Sacred Mountain Equaling Heaven”, Southern Great Mountain Heng as “God of Sacred Mountain Regulating Heaven”, Western Great Mountain Hua as “God of Sacred Mountain and Golden Heavenly King”, Northern Great Mountain Heng as “God of Sacred Mountain Subduing Heaven”, and Central Great Mountain Song as “God of Sacred Mountain and king of Middle Heaven”. Eastern Great Mountain Tai takes the lead in the Five Sacred Mountains, so the God of Mount Tai is the honored one of the five sacred mountain gods, revered by Taoism as “Holy Benevolent Emperor of Eastern Peak, Equal to Heaven”, shortened as “Holy Emperor of Eastern Peak”, as in “the ancestor of all mountains, the root of all five sacred mountains, the God of heaven and earth, the residence for gods and spirits”

(“In Search of the Supernatural” in *Supplement to the Taoist Canon*). Most ancient emperors in China regarded Mount Tai rituals as the most important sacrificial rites, and the imperial sacrifices on Mount Tai had a history of about 4000 years. As the God of Mount Tai was a male god, during the reign of Emperor Zhen Zong of the Song Dynasty, it was granted the title “Primordial Sovereign of the Colored Clouds of Dawn”, popularly known as Grandma of Mount Tai. According to ancient beliefs, when a person died, his or her soul would fly back to Mount Tai, the jurisdiction of the God of Mount Tai, as recorded in “The Legend of Wu Heng” in *History of Latter Han*, “if people of Wu Heng die, their souls will return to Mount Chishan; if people of China die, their souls will return to Mount Tai”. Southern Great Mountain Heng is situated in Hunan Province. Legend has it that when the Yellow Emperor came here for inspection, he was lost in directions and asked Zhu Rong (God of Fire) to orient the south with reference to the mountain; when Yushun came here for inspection, he appreciated it with an acclaim of “the beauty of the Southern Sacred Mountain”; Yu the Great ever sacrificed on the top of the Mountain the white house to be offered to heaven and earth, he then got the gold slips and jade books hidden in the Southern Great Mountain, which helped him harness the floods, and thus the mountain was granted the title of sacred mountain. Western Great Mountain Hua (or Taihua), situated in Shanxi Province, is one of the two earliest to be conferred the title of sacred mountains (the Eastern and the Western). *The Annals of Huayin County* states that “the top of this mountain is where the heavenly purities descended and where immortals gathered”. According to the chapter “Fengshanshu (Book of the Ceremony of Heaven Worship)” in *Records of the Grand Historian*, the Yellow Emperor and Yunshun ever traveled to Mount Hua. Xiyue Temple at the foot of the Mountain is where ancient emperors made sacrifices and worshiped gods. Northern Great Mountain Heng (also known as “changshan” or “damaoshan”), situated at the border of Hebei and Shanxi provinces, is called the mysterious mount or subduing mount in *Commentary on the Water Classic*. According to legends, Emperor Shun and Yu the Great ever went hunting here and Goddess Houtu also came here for makeup. Central Great Mountain Song (also known as “Songgao”, “huangshi”, “taishishan”, or “waifangshan”), situated in Henan Province, was also frequented for sacrifice by emperors of different dynasties, being second only to Mount Tai of the Five Sacred Mountains. According to the chapter “Fengshanshu” in *Records of the Grand Historian*, “in the past, emperors of three dynasties were all in the middle of rivers He and Luo, so Songgao was deemed Central Sacred Mountain, and the other four situated the four directions.” The story of Yu the Great Harnessing the Floods has Mount Songshan as its background. Legend has it that Yu constructed the Xuanyuan Pass, and Stone of the Mother of Qi was an reincarnation of Tushanshi, Yu’s wife. Emperor Wudi of Han Dynasty constructed Longevity Palace Pavilion on the top of the mountain; Empress Wuzetian conferred the title Sacred Mountain to Mount Songshan, granting its god King of Heavens, later termed Yellow Emperor among Heavens of the sacred mountains, whose wife was also granted Queen of the Yellow Emperor among the Heavens; Zhao Kuangyin, Emperor Taizu of Song initiated and passed down the tradition of making clothes, hats, shoes, and

swords for the God of the Central Sacred Mountain; during the reign of Zhao Ling, Emperor Taizong of Song, God of the Central Sacred Mountain was granted the title of “the Revered Emperor of Central Heaven”. Mount Kunlun is also one of the Sacred Mountains, termed by *The Classic of Mountains and Seas* as “Capital under the Emperor” (“West Mountain Classic”); “West Classic Within the Seas” states, “the immensity of Mount Kunlun covers 800 *li*, with a height of ten thousand *ren*; it has nine wells, jade rails, and is guarded by animals; it is a place for immortals.” “Treatise on Topography” in *Huainanzi* states, “from Kunlun if you climb upwards, you’ll find Mount Liangfeng, which guarantees immortality upon your topping it. Climbing upwards again, you will reach the Heavenly Court, on top of which you become an immortal. That is where the Emperor in Heaven resides.” Later the Taoists deemed Kunlun as the Immortal Mountain of the Western Seas and the residential place for Queen Mother of the West, saying “Kunlun is situated in the Shu area of the West Sea and the Hai area of the North Sea, covering ten thousand *li* and a hundred and thirty thousand *li* away from the shore, with waters circling around (*The Seven Tablets in a Cloudy Satchel* Vol. 26).”

Ancient sacred mountains also include Penglai, Fangzhang, and Yingzhou. According to “Basic Annals of Emperor Qinshihuang” in the *Records of the Grand Historian*, “Xu Shi and others from Qi wrote to the Emperor that in the distant seas there were three sacred mountains, Penglai, Fangzhang, and Yingzhou, where immortals resided.” Believing in this, Emperor Qinshihuang dispatched thousands of virgin boys and girls led by Xu Fu (or Xu Shi) to sail onto the seas and look for the sacred mountains only never to return. Such worship of sacred mountains later developed into trends of Buddhist sacred mountains and Taoist Grotto Heavens and Blissful Lands, forming the religious scenario of “Monks occupying most of the sacred mountains under heaven”, including the Four Sacred Mountains of Buddhism, that is, Mount Wutai of Shanxi Province (bodhimaṇḍa of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī or Wenshu), Mount Putuo of Zhejiang Province (bodhimaṇḍa of the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara or Guanyin), Mount Emei of Sichuan Province (bodhimaṇḍa of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra or Puxian), Mount Jiuhua of Anhui Province (bodhimaṇḍa of the Bodhisattva Ksitigarbha or Dizang), as well as the Taoist Ten Great Grotto Heavens, Sixteen Small Grotto Heavens, and Seventy-Two Blissful Lands. Related to the worship of sacred mountains is the worship of sacred rocks, the most typical which being the worship of the “Taishan Guardian Rock”.

The worship of sacred mountains echoes the worship of “great rivers”, forming the tradition of worshiping the river gods in ancient China. *Spring and Autumn Annals of Master Lu Buwei* generalized the case of “worshiping the four seas, great rivers, famous grass lands, abysses, wells and springs”; “Fengshanshu” of *Records of the Great Historian* records that “the Son of Heaven sacrificing for all famous mountains and rivers under heaven, the Three Councilors of the State corresponding to the Five Sacred Mountains, the feudal lords corresponding to the Four Great Rivers, and the feudal lords sacrificing for the famous mountains and great rivers in their respective jurisdictions. “The Four Great Waters are Yangtze River, Yellow River, Huai River and Ji River.” The famous gods of rivers include Hebo (The Elder of the Yellow River), Luoshen (God of Luo River), etc. Hebo is called

“Feng Yi”, the God of the Yellow River, traveling on the surface of the river in the form of a white dragon; it was later injured in the eye by Houyi’s arrow, as recorded in “Heavenly Questions” of *The Elegies of Chu*, “God sent Yiyi to comfort the people of Xia by eradicating evils and disasters, but why did he blind Hebo’s left eye with his arrow and snatched the latter’s wife?” The divination book *Zhonghou of Book of Documents* records, “Boyu said, ‘as I see Hebo, he has a long face, man’s head and a fish body’; Chu said, ‘he is the spirit of our river.’” Luoshen (God of Luo River) is Luobin, the Goddess of Luo River, as described in “Nymph of the Luo River” by the Poet Cao Zhi; another source regards Luoshen as a daughter of Fuxi, deified after having been drowned in the Luo River. Xiangjun and Xiangfuren refer to Emperor Shun and his two concubines, popular river gods of Rivers Xiang and Yuan, as well as of Dongting Lake. “Xiangfuren” of *Nine Songs* states, “the descendant of God (Xiangfuren), please come to the northern shore”; she was credited with having the supernatural power of “calming the waves of rivers Yuan and Xiang,” and “making the Yangtze River flow peacefully.” The Chinese ancient worship of river gods center mostly on goddesses, reflecting the feminine gentleness therein.

Ancient Chinese plant worship is closely connected to the worship of agricultural gods, reflecting the relevant features of the farming culture at the time. *The Classic of Mountains and Seas* describes the various aspects of the divinity of trees, flowers and grasses: “there is the type of grass in the mountain, shaped like sleeks with greenish blue flowers, named Zhuyu, which will make you full in stomach after you eat it. There is also a type of tree, shaped like Gou tree with black texture, whose radiance shines in all directions. Its name is Migu, and if you wear it, you’ll never lose your way.” (“The Classic of the Southern Mountains”). “There is a kind of grass named Xuncao, with leaves like those of the Ma, square stems, red flowers and black fruits. It smells like confervoid, and if you wear it, your leprosy will be cured.” (“The Classic of the Western Mountains”). “There is a kind of tree, with round leaves and white sepals, red flowers in black texture, orange-like fruits. If you eat them, you will be able to produce many off-springs.” (“Third Subsection of West”) Besides, according to “Proceedings of Government in the Different Months” in *Book of Rites*, in the first month of spring, it is forbidden to cut down trees; in the last month of spring, orders are given to the foresters throughout the country not to allow the cutting down of the mulberry trees and silk-worm oaks; in the first month of summer, no cutting down of large trees. Such worship of plants and related taboos, to some extent, reveal ancient Chinese people’s dim understanding of the sacred significance of eco-balance and ecological protection, thus proving to be valuable resources to be explored by religious ecological research.

The major agricultural gods in ancient China are Houji and Shennong, reflecting the transition from natural planting to artificial farming, hence the deification of ancient agriculture. Houji is related to “ji”, the first of the five kinds of grains, revered as God of the Grains. According to “Codes of Sacrifice” in *Comprehensive Meaning of Customs and Habits*, “Ji is the chief of the five grains. Since there are so many varieties of the grains, it is impossible to make sacrifices to all of them, Ji is established and ritualized.” The combination of the sacrifices to “She” and “Ji”

reflects the inner bonds between land and crops, proving the most important religious rites of ancient agricultural societies. Farming culture facilitated the development of the ancient people's outlook on society. For instance, the ancient Zhou nationality ever revered Houji as their ancestor, implying the significance of agriculture to the forming of clans and villages, a reflection of the farming clusters already formed in the pre-historic times. Legend has it that Houji's birth was a result of Jiangyuan (daughter of Youtaishi)'s stepping into the footprints of a giant; he was named Qi (homophone of the verb "desert"), for he used to be deserted several times. The Zhou nationality revered Houji as the pioneer in planting ji and wheat, believing that he was also good at planting other staple food crops. It is said that Houji was appointed official in charge of agricultural affairs during the era of emperors Yao and Shun, guiding agricultural development and teaching people to plant crops. "The Canon of Shun" in *The Book of Documents* records that "The Di said, 'Qi, the black-haired people are (still) suffering from famine. Do you, O prince, as Minister of Agriculture, (continue to) sow (for them) the various kinds of grain.'" "Lecture on This World" in *Huainanzi* also states, "the lands and fields were left bare, and the people had not enough food to go around; Houji then taught people to explore new lands, improve the quality of the soil, plant and sow grains, so that all families had enough supplies." "Teng Wen Gong I" of *Mencius* states that "The Minister of Agriculture (Houji) taught the people to sow and reap, cultivating the five kinds of grain. When the five kinds of grain were brought to maturity, the people all obtained a subsistence." The reverence of Shennong as the God of Agriculture was due to his teaching of the people the farming methods in planting the crops. *Records of the Lives of Emperors and Kings* records, "Emperor Yandi or Shennong with the family name Jiang had an ox head and a human body. He grew up along the Jiang River. He had holy virtues, set up his capital in Chen, made the five-stringed zither, was the first to teach all the people to farm, and was thus called Shennongshi or the Divine Farmer." "Xici (Appended Statements)" of the *Book of Change* says that Shennong "fashioned wood to form the share, and bent wood to make the plough-handle. The advantages of ploughing and weeding were then taught to all under heaven." In addition, Shennong is also closely related to the worship of ancestral gods of China, implying the development of pre-historic framing clusters and the emergence of their highest chiefs.

This kind of plant worship also includes the folk belief of using peach wood to drive away evil spirits, peach talismans to acquire blessing and shed off disasters, immortal peaches for longevity, the later Buddhist beliefs in lotus flowers to convey the sacred meaning of purity, as well as the various folk legends of peony fairies and the longevity functions of pine trees and cypress trees.

Animal worship was very popular in the primordial Chinese societies, and the combination of the awe for animals and the reverence of clan ancestors led to the emergence of Totemism. Such animal worship was adequately described in the *Classic of Mountains and Seas*. And the ancients linked animals with constellations, matching an animal to each of the 28 constellations, for they thought the animals possessed some divine nature. This design later evolved into its Taoist stage when the appearance of the four divine animals came into being: Azure

Dragon of the east, the Vermilion Bird of the south, the White Tiger of the west, and the Black Turtle (actually a combination of the turtle and the snake) of the north. The novel *Journey to the West* depicted supernatural and monstrous images like the Monkey King (the combination of a monkey and a human being) and the Pig (the combination of a pig and a human being), all bearing traces of ancient animal worship. Ancient China's temples, palaces, paintings and sculptures all had descriptions of divine animals such as dragons, phoenixes, Qilins, cranes, lions, heavenly horses, sea horses, suanni, yayu, xiezhi, douniu, monkeys, turtles, etc., a reflection of the continuation and evolution of the ancient animal worship. These forms of animal worship are based both on realistic animals and imaginary ones, that is, the composite of images of different animals, most of which were related to the ancient totemic symbols. The more influential and popular animals in traditional Chinese culture are the Dragon, phoenix, Qilin and turtle, or the four intelligent creatures. Regarding the four intelligent animals, "Ceremonial usages; their origins, development, and intention" in the *Book of Rites* explains that "What were the four intelligent creatures? They were the Qi-lin, the phoenix, the tortoise, and the dragon. When the dragon becomes a domestic animal, (all other) fishes and the sturgeon do not lie hidden from men (in the mud). When the phoenix becomes so, the birds do not fly from them in terror. When the Qi-lin does so, the beasts do not scamper away. When the tortoise does so, the feelings of men take no erroneous course." Fang Shique further explained that "the body of Qilin is reliable and supportive; the phoenix knows order and chaos; the turtle forebodes fortune and misfortune; the dragon is capable of transformations; and that's why they are called the four intelligent animals." In addition, auspicious animals like Pixiu and xiezhi and immortal birds such as cranes are also well-known in Chinese folk beliefs.

The dragon is an expression of animals that possess much divinity and mysteriousness in traditional Chinese culture. The Chinese people call themselves the descendants of the dragon, a reflection of the totemism of the Chinese people in remote antiquity. The dragon has as its main part the body of a snake, being a combination of the beauty and strength of many animals, including the four feet of beasts, bristles of horses, the tail of the hyena, the horn of the deer, the eyes of the tiger, the nose of the lion, the ears of the ox, the claws of the eagle, the scales and feelers of fish, etc. The earliest Chinese dictionary *Shuowenjiezi* explains the term dragon as "the chief of scaled worms, capable of being hidden and manifest, large and small, long and short, soaring to the heaven at the Spring Equinox and hiding to the depths of waters at the Autumnal Equinox." The Qian Hexagram of the *Book of Change* has descriptions of the dragon as "flying dragon in the sky", "dragon either jumping into the air or residing in the depths of the abyss", and "emerging dragon over the fields." People categorize dragons into five types: the scaled dragons or jiaolong; the winged dragons or yinglong, functioning as the God of Rain due to its accumulation of water; the horned dragons or qiulong, the head of all dragons; the hornless dragons or lilong; the dragons that have not flown up to the sky, or panlong. In addition, it is also said that the kuilong is God of Thunder or God of Music, according to "East Classic of the Great Wilderness" in the *Classic of Mountains and Seas*, "its light is like that of the sun and the moon; its sound is like

that of the thunder; its name is Kui”; the Candle Dragon is the God of night and day and the four seasons (also known as polar aurora). It is said that the dragon has nine sons: Bixi, Chiwen, Pulao, Bi’an, Taotie, Baxia, Yazi, Suanni and Jiaotu. There is a type of divine animal called *wangtianhou* (roaring toward the sky) that looks both like a qilin and a dragon. It is mostly the decorative divine animal found on the top of the cloud pillars, with the connotation of monitoring and admonishing the emperors. In ancient Chinese thought, the dragon was closely linked with the emperor of heaven, believing that the emperor is the son of the dragon and has facial features of the dragon, as in “Chapters of Celestial Officials” in *Records of the Great Historian*, “Emperor Xuanyuan is in the body of a yellow dragon”. Therefore, emperors of all Chinese dynasties all called themselves the “true dragon emperor”; all dynasties continued the use of the yellow dragon as the dynasty symbol; and the first national flag in Chinese history was the “yellow dragon flag”.

Fenghuang or the phoenix was regarded as the king of birds in ancient China, which is evidenced in the saying “All birds pay homage to the phoenix”. Fenghuang is the legendary divine bird, its male called feng and female huang, as explained by “Explaining Birds” in *Erya*, “Feng, his female counterpart is huang.” The definition of fenghuang by the *Shuowenjiezi* is: “Feng is a divine bird. Tianlao says that the image of the feng has the front of the goose, the back of the carp, the neck of the snake, the tail of the fish, the forehead of a stork, the cheeks of the mandarin duck, the scales of the dragon, the back of the tiger, the chin of the swallow, the beak of the chicken, and all the main colors. It originates from the eastern gentleman’s state, soars over the four seas, passes Mount Kunlun, drinks water at the central pillar of the Yellow River, bathes her feathers at the most dangerous rivers, and sleeps at the cold cave at night. The sight of the bird will bring peace to the world.” Guo Pu vividly describes the phoenix as having “head of a chicken, neck of a snake, chin of a swallow, back of a turtle, tail of a fish, five colors and a height of around six *chi*.” From its historical origin, “Feng has been a composite totemic symbol of the clans and tribes since the neolithic age, so goes the ancient saying that ‘Fenghuang is the essence of fire, born of the Danxue Mountain.’”³ Hence the expressions like the “red phoenix”, the “sun bird”, etc.; these expressions were increasingly manifest after the entry of Buddhism from India to China. The phoenix is an elevation of the bird worship, believed to be a good god who may bring happiness and bliss to people. “Peering into the Obscure” of *Huainanzi* states, “When the phoenix flies, it manifests the ultimate virtues; at this time, no thunder arises, no wind or rain disturbs, no river or spring ripples, and no grass or tree sways”. *Classic of Mountains and Seas* states, “the world will be at peace at the sight of the bird” (“Classic of Regions Within the Seas”). The phoenix later was regarded as the symbol of the empress or the queen, hence the rare honor of the composite “long-feng” (dragon-phoenix).

An equally blissful animal, Qilin is an imaginary divine animal, which takes the lead of the “four intelligent creatures”. *Daide’s Collected Essays on Rites* states “of

³Wang (1988).

all the 360 beasts, Qilin takes the lead.” Ancient texts like “The feet of the Lin” in *The Book of Poetry, Commentary by Gongyang, Erya*, etc. all had records of Qilin. One theory holds that Qilin’s image evolved from the giraffe, having the shape of the deer or the roe, with one horn, scales all over, and an ox tail; the male is called qi and the female lin. Other images of Qilin include a ram head, dog head, horse head, and deer head, as well as the distinctions of ox feet, wolf feet, deer feet and round feet. It has bristles and lion claws too. Deemed as the “benevolent beast”, Qilin is the symbol of political prosperity and blissful peace, as well as the embodiment of sages and immortals; its appearance connotes the “goodness and bliss” of virtuous kings and emperors; it is an auspicious symbol of social harmony.

Of the four intelligent creatures, the turtle is the only creature that does exist in real life. Its longevity, as a symbol of divinity, parallels that of the crane, as stated in “*Duisu* (Answering Questions about Popular Conceptions) of *Baopuzi* (*The Master Embracing Simplicity*), “knowing the longevity of the turtle and the crane, people should emulate their way to lengthen years of life.” *Guiceliezhuàn* (Collected Biographies regarding the Turtle Shells and Yarrow Stalks) states, “the turtle has superior divinity, coming down from heaven.” The divine turtle has always been regarded as the medium between deities and men, by means of which people expect to know the way of heaven and predict the future. Turtle shells were used by ancients as divination tools for determining fortunes and misfortunes. According to “Summary of the Rules of Propriety Part One” of the *Book of Rites*, “Divination by the shell is called bu; by the stalks, shi.” “Counsels of the Great Yu” in *The Book of Documents* also states, “The spirits signified their assent, and the tortoise-shell and divining stalks concurred.” In ancient myths, the turtle was also related to the dragon; for instance, the eldest son of the dragon was in the shape of a turtle.

Pixiu (also called *Tian Lu*, *Bixie* and *Baijie*) is also a blissful animal. As an imaginary divine animal, it has the head of a dragon, the body of a horse, the feet of a qilin, shaped like a lion, or a tiger or a bear, and even believed to be the son of the dragon. Xu Ke in his *Classified Collection of Qing Notes* states, “Pixiu is shaped like a tiger, or a bear, gray haired, termed by white bear by the people of the northeast. Its male is called pi and the female xiu, and therefore the ancients always combined them in usage.” Pixiu was regarded as a fiercely brave beast that existed in the past, legendarily employed as warriors in the Wars of Emperors Yan and Huang. “Annals of the Five Emperors” of *The Record of the Great Historian* states, “Training black bears, grizzly bears, foxes, panthers, lynxes, and tigers, he (Emperor Xuan Yuan), with their aid, fought with ‘Flame emperor’ in the desert of Banquan.” Thus, Pixiu was later compared to military troops and brave warriors, but its images and legends were actually a reflection of totemism in the remote antiquity of China.

Xiezhi is shaped like a lion or a dragon, yet it was originally a goat with one horn. “Records of Chariots and Robes” in *History of the Later Han Dynasty* states, “Xiezhi, a divine goat, is able to distinguish the crooked and the righteous.” Wang Chong pointed out in his *Balanced Discourses* that “according to the Confucian scholars, Xiezhi is the one-horned goat, instinctively knowing crimes and sins. When Gaotao was dealing with criminal cases, he let it touch those suspects. It

would only touch those who were guilty and would not touch those who were innocent.” People believed that Xiezhi are hairy animals with bright eyes, able to discern human nature, to distinguish the crooked and the righteous, and to determine loyalty; they are thus regarded as animals of law marked by justice, selflessness and bravery; judges in ancient times all wore the hats shaped like the animal, or official uniforms with embroidered Xiezhi images, which was recorded in “Records of Chariots and Robes” in *History of the Later Han Dynasty* as “the official hat sworn by the judges are termed Xiezhi Hat.”

The crane mythology of China belongs to the divine bird worship in the system of animal totemism. *The Book of Poetry* states, “The crane cries in the ninth pool of the marsh, / And her voice is heard in the [distant] wilds.” The crane, as a divine bird, travels between paradise and man’s world. In the *Western Han Dynasty Silk Paintings* could be found the pictures of cranes standing beside Nvwa, the goddess with a human head and a snake body. The crane is also a symbol of longevity, and in its combination with pine trees and cypress trees in the Chinese folk culture, forms the saying of “pines and cranes enhancing longevity.” The Painting of Pines and Cranes expresses the motif of longevity. Legend has it that the crane would become gray at the age of 1000 and would turn dark after another 1000 years, thus termed “the mysterious crane.” Besides, cranes are the animals that carry immortals on their back, always carrying them “to and from the Purple Palace”. Later according to the Taoist legends, Laodan or Laozi, the founder of Taoism, was said to have ridden a crane after achieving immortality. The Taoist robes are termed “crane robes”, and cranes stand by the statues of Laozi.

The birds deified in ancient China also include luan, yu, xue, snipes, etc. “The West classic of the great wilderness” in the *Classic of Mountains and Rivers* states, “there are three kinds of five-colored birds, namely, Huang, Luan and Feng.” “The luan would spontaneously sing and the feng would dance to accompany; the hundred varieties of animals would manifest love and care, living harmoniously in gatherings, and this is called the immense wilderness.” According to *Shuowenjiezi*, “luan is the essence of divine birds, with five tints of red, in the shape of a chicken, chirping the five notes of music; its eulogizing sound, once started, would come instantly to the ear.” “Yu, or yuzu, is a type of phoenix-like divine bird... In “Conversations from the States” of *The Spring and Autumn Annals* described it as ‘the bird sang in Mount Qi when the Zhou Dynasty was in prosperity.’” “Xue, or hanxue, a mountain bird, knows the things to come.” “Yu is the bird that knows when the rain is to fall. ... *The Book of Rites* states guanyu knows the celestial knowledge.” Some of these birds are related to the category of phoenix.

3.1.2 The Worship of Ghosts and Spirits

Closely related to animism are the concepts of soul and its derivative ghosts and spirits; they are the important elements that constitute religion, fully expressed in the continuity of ancient Chinese religions. It is such concepts of the spirit or the

soul, which concerns the man, nature, earth and heaven, that led to the developments in spirit worship, its derivative ghost worship, nature worship, ancestor worship, king or emperor worship, poly-theistic worship, etc.

The primitive burial customs showcased the formation of the concept of the spirit and their mysterious understanding of it. Particularly the emergence of the decorative articles in the tombs explained the fact that the ancients were beginning to realize the postmortem existence of the spirit, hence the necessity to give regards to “life after death”. Such evidence was found in the tombs of the Cave Men, in their burial articles and the red iron mineral powder on their bodies, all filled with this kind of symbolism. In addition, in the burial ground of the Yuanjun Temple in Rangshao Culture, the sites of Dahezhuang in Yongjing County of Gansu Province in the Qijia Culture and the graves of County Wangwan of the Xianxia Culture were discovered human bones smeared with reddish stone powder, which expressed the blood color of life, a color that had been given a unique religious connotation ever since the primitive times.

The expressions of the concepts of the spirit in the Chinese linguistic context include hun, po, spirit, ghost, god, etc., all related to the man. “In the Seventh Year of Zhao Gong” in *Zuo Qiuming’s Spring and Autumn Annals* records, “the initial bodily formation after one’s birth is called po, and after the physical base po is complete, the Yang energy forms hun.” Kong Yingda’s sub-commentary says, “hun and po are names of divinity, originally formed from physical form and qi (the cosmic breath); since form and qi are different, hun and po differ from each other; the spirit that is in the form is called po, and the spirit that in the qi is called hun. In terms of the spirit that is in the form, at the moment of a person’s birth, the sound that comes from the movement of the ear, eyes, heart, hands, feet, and crying is the spirit of the po; the spirit that is in the qi refers to the gradual consciousness of the mental processes.” The difference in the attachment of the spirit to the form or to the qi leads to the differing belonging after a person’s death. “The single victim at the border sacrifices” of the *Book of Rites* points out that “The hun (intelligent spirit) returns to heaven; the body and po (the animal soul) return to the earth.” The ancients believed that after death, people’s spirit will shackle off the physical form and turn into the spiritual energy of gods and ghosts; their po will return to Mount Tai after the demise of the body, to be under the control of the God of Mount Tai, which was the meaning of “after Chinese people’s death, their hun returns to Mount Tai” stated in “The Biography of Wu Heng” of *The History of the Latter Han Dynasty*. Here, the connotation of “ghost” is to return. *Shuowenjiezi* states that “a man who returns or dies is a ghost; the difference between a man and a ghost is only a matter of time; a ghost will harm people in the darkness all due to his selfishness.” The spirit after a person’s death is called gui (ghost), and the place it returns to is called the underworld in contrast to the human world. “The law of sacrifices” of the *Book of Rites* states, “Generally speaking, all born between heaven and earth were said to have their allotted times; the death of all creatures is spoken of as their dissolution; but man when dead is said to be in the ghostly state.” “The meaning of sacrifices” of the *Book of Rites* states, “All the living must die, and dying, return to the ground; this is what is called gui”. The spirits of the strong ones or the prominent ones will be

regarded as ghost heroes after they die, as sung with brilliantly brave words by the Poet Qu Yuan in his “The spirits of the fallen” in Nine Songs, “Even though, O the body dies, the spirit never dies / So strong is your will power that after death you will be the hero among the ghosts.” After the deaths of those in high social status, such as the outstanding ones, social elites, heroes, ancestors and emperors, their spirits will be revered as “shenling” or the spirits of gods. The di as in the power or authority of a king or emperor and the di as in shangdi used in ancient Chinese religions both originally meant specifically the spirit of the highest emperor of the Yin Dynasty after his death. “Summary of the Rules of Propriety Part 2” in the *Book of Rites* states “As ruling over all, under the sky, (the king) is called ‘The son of Heaven.’...His death is announced in the words, ‘The king by (the grace of) Heaven has fallen.’ In calling back (his spirit), they say, ‘Return, O son of Heaven.’ When announcement is made (to all the states) of the mourning for him, it is said, ‘the king by (the grace of) Heaven has gone far on high.’ When his place is given to him in the ancestral temple, and his spirit-tablet is set up, he is styled on it, ‘the god.’” The original meaning of “the god” is “to carve a heavy wood piece to attach the spirit to,” that is, a temple shrine should be set up after an emperor dies, and inside it there should be a spirit tablet of his to be given sacrifice to.

This view of the spirit was later used to explain the spirit of natural things; for instance, when describing the spirit or soul of the tree gods or forest stones, expressions like chimei, wangliang and shanxiao (all variants of the word “ghost”) were used. In this aspect, the notes of “In the Eighteenth Year of Wen Gong” in *Zuo Qiuming’s Spring and Autumn Annals* explain chimei as “born out of the strange air in the mountains and forests, apt to harm people”; “Distinguishing Things” of *The Family Sayings of Confucius* regards wangliang as the kui (one-legged ghost) from the woods and stones; “Dengshe” in *The Man Embracing Simplicity* depicts xiao as “the spirit of the mountain shaped like a child.”⁴

This spirit worship gave rise to unique burial customs and tomb culture. The primitive tomb burial in China’s remote antiquity included the common burial ground for the same clan, the direction of burial, the ways of burial and positioning of the corpse, the elaborate burial of the elders and urn burial for children. In the later period of the tribal society, there emerged the co-burial of men and women, and the accompanying burial with humans or animals. One prominent feature of this spirit worship is to make people pay much attention to the life after death, which is given rich and exotic imaginations. The spirit concept also gave rise to a unique kind of folklore culture and folk literature, such as the supernatural novels like *The Investiture of the Gods*, in which the spirit of the hero was deified, expressing people’s admiration and longing for the soul to enter the “immortal realm”; the ghost stories that described the lower strata people, animals or plants coming back from the underworld or the ghosts’ realm to influence people’s ordinary way of life, such as *Strange Tales from a Chinese Studio*, embodying more and complicated social connotations.

⁴Refer to Zhuo (1999).

3.1.3 Fertility Worship

Fertility worship is very common in the primitive human society, and China is no exception. In *Book of Change*, the most typical of Chinese classics, people believe that the ancient Chinese had the basic fertility worship symbols, that is, the Yin and Yang lines being interpreted in terms of fertility worship. According to Qian Xuantong, “the primitive hexagrams are the products of the fertility worship eras and the Qian and Kun hexagrams are the symbols of male and female reproductive organs.” Zhou Yutong points out that, “—(the Yang) and - - (Yin) in the *Book of Change* are the most obvious symbols of the era of fertility worship.” Guo Moruo also stated that “it is clearly seen that the root of the eight trigrams are the residues of the ancient fertility worship. Drawing a solid line to represent the male reproductive organ and dividing it into two to signify the female reproductive organ, from which ideas of man-woman, father-mother, Yin-Yang, the hard and the soft, and heaven-earth were derived.”⁵

Traditionally, at the center of the “Fuxi trigram” is a dual Yin-Yang Fish. This dialectic symbolic expression of Yin in the Yang and Yang in the Yin was allegedly based on the fish pattern, able to be traced to the Banpo Culture of Xi’an that belonged to the Yangshao Culture, with evidence in the colorful pottery of fish patterns. Banpo Culture reflects the state of the primitive matriarchal clan society, and “the fish patterns of the remains of the primitive culture of Banpo are not the so-called totemic symbols, but the symbols of female reproductive organs.” “In terms of connotation, the fish has a lot of eggs in its belly and is very reproductive. People at that time only knew the reproductive function of the female reproductive organ. Therefore, with these two aspects combined, the ancients in the fishing society used fish to be the symbol of the female reproductive organ.”⁶ The fish sacrifice used to be very popular among the ancients at Banpo, being actually the phenomenon of female fertility worship, the worship with which people prayed for the abundance of population.

The ancient Chinese myth of Gun and Yu harnessing the floods also dimly reflects the transition from matriarchal society to patriarchal society. Actually Gun and Yu were not in a father-son relationship. The “classic of regions within the seas” of the *Classic of Mountains and Seas* records that “God commanded Zhu Rong to kill Gun at the suburbs, and Gun gave birth to Yu”, so Gun and Yu were in a mother-son relationship. The original meaning of the word “Gun” in ancient records is “fish”. *Record of Heretofore Lost Works Volume 2* states that “Emperor Yao commanded Xia Gun to subdue the floods. Yet without achievement even after nine years, Gun drowned itself in Lake Yuyuan, turning into a mysterious fish.” Later Gun, as the spirit of the Yellow River, gave Yu the Yellow River Diagram to assist him in subduing the floods, thus forming the theory of two-generation harnessing the floods. From the the legends of Gun and her relationship with fish, we

⁵Quoted in Zhao (1990).

⁶Quoted in Zhao (1990).

see that Gun represents the motherly image of the later development of the matriarchal society, and her relationship with Yu explains the transition to patriarchal society.

The ancient symbols of female fertility worship also include the frog patterns and their later connection with the toad in the moon. In terms of image, the belly of the frog is similar to that of the pregnant woman, and frogs are very productive animals. In the archaeological explorations, different kinds of colorful potteries with frog patterns were unearthed in Yangshao of Henan Province, Miaodigou, Xiguanbao and Jiangzhai of Shanxi Province, Majiayao of Gansu Province, Liuwan of Qinghai province, etc., revealing the typical features of toad patterns. According to textual research, these frog patterns emerged later than the fish patterns, being also the symbol of the female reproductive organ and the pregnant womb, and expressing the worship of the female reproductive organ. With the correlation and comparison of the female period, pregnancy and giving birth and the waxing-waning of the moon, the imagination of the moon as the divine frog in charge of fertility came into being, forming the myth of the toad in the moon. The Chan in Chan-chu (toad) is a homophone of the Chang in Chang E, so the goddess Chang E gradually appeared; Chu is similar in sound to Tu (rabbit), hence the image of “jade rabbit”. For these reasons, the understanding of Chanchu is transformed into the scenario of “Chang E holding the jade rabbit”, and the female fertility worship into the goddess worship.

In the later period of the matriarchal society and with the transition from the matriarchal to the patriarchal society, appeared the sprouting of male fertility worship, evidenced by the colored pottery pieces with bird patterns unearthed in the Xi'an Banpo of Yangshao Culture and other sites. In correspondence with the female fertility worship represented by fish and frogs and its derivative moon goddess worship, China's remote antiquity also witnessed the male fertility worship represented by birds and crows and its derivative sun god worship, seen in the three-foot crow and the flying golden crow carrying the sun on its back, as well as the myths of “Heaven commanding the mysterious bird to descend and give birth to Shang.” In the Western Zhou period, the abundance of bronze ornamentation characterized by bird patterns signaled the gradual replacement of female fertility worship by male fertility worship. In addition, male fertility worship was also manifested by the snake and lizard patterns, which, as symbols of the male reproductive organ, appeared during the later stage of Yangshao Culture. And the symbolic dragon image that evolved out of the snake and the lizard has a unique cultural significance to the Chinese people.

Fertility worship had complicated correlation with China's nature worship and spirit worship the remote antiquity, thus intertwined with Totemism and ancestral worship and having completed the transformation from remote antiquity myths to ancient historical records. As pointed out by Zhao Guohua, in the Gunyu myths, “Gun is a fish, showing her female identity, representing the female force in the transition from the matriarchal society to the patriarchal one. Yu is a lizard, showing his male identity and representing the male force at that time. Yu coming out of Gun shows the female giving birth to the male babies. ... It is only natural that Yu, revered as the ancestor of the Xia people and born in the transitional period when

the matriarchal society was to be replaced by the patriarchal one, did not know who his father was. However, it was he that helped complete the transition from the matriarchal society to the patriarchal one. ... But when the later generations traced their origins to Yu, where could they find Yu's father? They had to reform Gun's gender to the male to become the father of Yu,"⁷ completing the ancestor theogony of the Chinese in remote antiquity. In such correlations, "Gun and Yu, Jian Di and Qi, Jiang Yuan and Hou Ji are all in a mother-son relationship. The mothers of Yu, Qi and Ji all gave births without a husband. They could not be certain about their fathers, but they were all figures that set up their own patriarchal system. So they all lived during the transition from the matriarchal society to the patriarchal one. Yu was born from "fish", and Qi from "bird"; Ji was born in the shape of "egg", and born out of "the earth," thus good at farming. Linking these three myths implies that the ancients' female reproductive organ worship evolving toward male reproductive organ worship and again toward the worship male-female fertility worship, synchronous with the transition of the human society from the fishing one to the agricultural one."⁸

3.1.4 *The Worship of Ancestors or Ancient Gods*

The worship of ancestors in China's remote antiquity was intertwined with ancient myths. The national ancestor worship could be traced to the succession of the emperors in remote antiquity, and in the mythological system, there was the combination of the Supreme Heavenly God, heavenly gods, as well as the sage kings or emperors and men who demonstrated unique feats of the human world. The formation of the ancient Chinese theogony involved both the exploration of its historical consequence and the reconstruction of the logical order of the myths. In such pedigrees of the mythological worship, the roots of the Chinese spiritual disposition and faith pursuits could be sensed and perceived.

According to the basic logical order of ancient Chinese mythology, the myth of Pan Gu, the Creator of heaven and earth in the Chinese mythological understanding, topped the myths that flew out of history with their order of appearance mixed in expression. According to the Chinese mytho-historic logic and their view of the universe, the universe and all in it came from the *wu* (nothingness) of the chaotic *wuji*, through the *you* (thingness) of the *Taiji* harmony, to the transformation by the dual Yin-yang principles, and the eventual emergence of the immense world. The personified creator is Pan Gu. "Heaven and earth are in a chaotic oneness like an egg and Pan Gu was born therein." (*Taiping Imperial Encyclopedia* Vol. 2) "The cosmic breath initiated and the sprouting of things began. Heaven and earth were divided and Qian and Kun were established. The infusion of the Yin and Yang energies and

⁷Quoted in Zhao (1990).

⁸Ibid., p. 275.

the distribution of the cosmic breath led to the harmonious pregnancy and the formation of the man. The first born was Pan Gu. Upon his death, his breath turned into winds and clouds, his sound the thunder, his left eye the sun, his right eye the moon, his limbs and five joints the four poles and five mountains, his blood the rivers, his veins the geographical distributive patterns, his muscles the land, his hair the stars, his body hair the grass and trees, his teeth bones the metals and rocks, his marrow the gold and jade, his sweat the rains, and the fleas on his body, moved by the wind, turned into animals.” (*Wuyun Historical Records*) Besides, “Pan Gu and his wife were the beginning of Yin and Yang; Pan Gu was the creator of the myriad of things, and all things were initiated by Pan Gu.” (*Tales of Strange Matters*)

After Pan Gu came the Three Sovereigns, namely, Suiren the Heavenly Sovereign, Fuxi the Human Sovereign, and Shennong the Earthly Sovereign. “Suiren was marked by fire, which was the sun, so he was revered as the Yang and attributed to Heaven; Fuxi was marked by his human concerns, so he was attributed to the human. ... Shennong knew everything about the power of the land and ways of sowing the grains, so he was attributed to the land.” (*Comprehensive Meaning of Customs and Habits* Vol. 1). Hence, from Pan Gu’s Yin Yang elements to the Three Sovereigns who represented heaven, earth and man. Of the three, Suiren was the God of Fire, who, by means of making fire by drilling the wood, led people out of the barbarian era when men ate animal flesh and drank its blood raw. Fuxi was the God of Fishing and Hunting, yet due to his invention of the Eight Trigrams to “to show fully the attributes of the spirit-like and intelligent (operations working secretly), and to classify the qualities of the myriads of things”, and his marriage with Nvwa to produce human beings, he facilitated the beginning of human civilization and became one of the ancestors of the human race; his wife Nvwa’s legends of smelting together five-colored stones to patch up the sky and kneading the mud to create human beings, making her equal with the male ancestral gods and giving her the status of “ancestor of human beings” together with her husband. Shennong was God of Agriculture and Medicine, teaching people “to first plant the grains”, “sow the seeds of the five grains”, and “how to eat the grains”, thus initiating farming and agriculture; he also “started trading by gathering the articles of the world”, and “made axes though pottery, and farming tools”, thus initiating commerce and metallurgy. Other ancestors of this era also included Youchaoshi (Nest or House Inventor), who facilitated the transition from cave dwellings to building nests with wood, thus initiating the construction industry.

After the Three Sovereigns came the Five Emperors. “After the death of Shen-nong, there arose Huang Di, Yao, and Shun.” “Huang Di, Yao, and Shun (simply) wore their upper and lower garments (as patterns to the people), and good order was secured all under heaven.” (“Xici” of the *Book of Change*) There are diverse interpretations of the Five Emperors. According to *Records of the Great Historian*, they are Huangdi, Zhuanxu, Diku, Tangyao and Yushun; according to the *Book of Rites*, Taihao (Fuxi), Yandi (Shennong), Huangdi, Shaohao, and Zhuanxu; according to the “Prelude” to *Book of Documents*, Shaohao, Zhuanxu, Gaoxin (Diku), Tangyao, and Yunshun; yet the “Making offerings to the Five Emperors” in *The Rites of Zhou* is interpreted as “Ling Weiang the Eastern Green

Emperor, Chi Xiannu the Southern Red Emperor, Han Shuniu the Central Yellow Emperor, Bia Zhaoju the Western White Emperor, and Zhi Guangji the Northern Black Emperor.” (“Da Zai” in “Heavenly Official” in *The Rites of Zhou*) Thus, the idea of the Five Emperors was linked with the five directions of east, west, south, north and the center; the five colors of green, red, yellow, white and black; and the five elements of wood, fire, earth, metal and water. In the Five Emperors were Yandi (Flame Emperor) and Yellow Emperor, the fountainhead of the concept that the Chinese were the descendants of the Flame Emperor and the Yellow Emperor. In some ancient records of China, Shennong was regarded as Yandi, from which we can surmise that Yandi was earlier than the Yellow Emperor; yet, some also believed that the Red Emperor of the Five Emperors was Yandi, thus regarding Yandi and Yellow Emperor as contemporary. Still others thought Yandi and Yellow Emperor both originated from the tribes of Shaodian and Youqiao that continued the Fuxi subdivision, believing the two to be brothers. “In the past, Shaodian married Youqiao, who gave birth to the Yellow Emperor and Yandi. Yellow Emperor established himself at Jishui and Yandi at Jiangshui, making achievements yet with different virtues, so the Yellow Emperor was Ji, and Yandi Jiang.” (“Discourses of Jin” in *Discourses of the States*) Later, Yandi and the Yellow Emperor became the chiefs of the two big tribes respectively; those in the Yandi lineage included Yanju, Jiebing, Xiqi, Zhurong, Gonggong, etc., and there ever was a war between the two tribes. At that time, warring with them for the rule of the world was the tribe of Chiyou, whose lineage included Miaolong, Rongwu, Nongming, Baiquan, Mudu, etc.. Eventually, the Yellow Emperor conquered and incorporated the tribe of Yandi, and later defeated Chiyou, thus unifying all the land and laying the foundation of the Huaxia people. It was the beginning of the Huaxia Culture, so the Chinese were also termed “the descendants of Yandi and the Yellow Emperor”.

Regarding the Yellow Emperor, “Annals of the Five Emperors” in the *Records of the Great Historian* records that “Huangdi (Yellow emperor) was the son of Shaodian. His surname was Gongsun, and his first name Xuanyuan. Born with heavenly sensibilities, he could speak argumentatively as a baby, as a boy he was eager to learn from others, as a youth earnest and intelligent, and when grown up spiritually illumined. In the time of Xuanyuan, Shennong became enfeebled. The princes made raids on each other and harassed the people, but Shennong could not chastise them, so Xuanyuan exercised himself in the use of weapons of war, so as to be able to punish irregularities. The princes all came and did homage, but Chiyou, the fiercest of all, could not be subdued. Yandi (Flame emperor) wished to oppress the princes, so they turned to Xuanyuan, who practised virtue, marshalled his men, controlled the five elements, cultivated the five kinds of grain, pacified the nations, and went over all parts of his country. Training black bears, grizzly bears, foxes, panthers, lynxes, and tigers, he, with their aid, fought with ‘Flame emperor’ in the desert of Banquan, and, after three battles, realised his wishes. Chiyou was a rebel, who did not obey the Emperor’s command, so Huangdi, levying an army of the princes, fought against Chiyou, captured, and slew him in the desert of Zhuolu. The princes all agreed that Xuanyuan should be the Emperor in place of Shennong,

under the title Huangdi. Those in the empire who would not submit, Huangdi pursued and chastised, and when they were subdued he left them. He made cuttings in hills, opened roads, and was never at rest....He ordered his officers to be named after cloud omens. He appointed a chief and deputy superintendent over international affairs, and the various states being at peace, he worshipped the demons and spirits of the hills and streams with the feng and Shan ceremonies in numbers. He obtained a valuable tripod, and made calculations of future events, appointing 'Chief of the winds,' 'Strength-governor,' 'Everfirst,' and 'Great Swan,' to direct the people to act in accordance with the celestial and terrestrial arrangements, the dark and bright prognostications, the disputations on life and death, the planting of the crops, plants, and trees in their seasons, and the transformations of birds, beasts, insects, and moths. He also prepared a record of the movements of the sun, moon, and stars; the flow of the tides; and the properties of clay, stones, metals, and gems. He devoted much careful attention to these things, and his observation was applied to ascertaining how fire, water, wood, and other elements could be used economically. There was an auspicious omen of the earth's energy, and he was therefore called 'Yellow god.'" His name Xuanyuan implies the meaning of "China", and "Xuanyuan having the body of a yellow dragon" echoed the dragon in the Huaxia Totemism, forming the typical expression of Chinese people as the "descendants of the dragon". The Yellow Emperor married Leizu, whose off-springs were the subdivisions of Xuanxiao, Changyi, etc., and from Xuanxiao through Qiaoji until Diku; Houji (Qi), Xuanwang (Qi), Emperor Yao, and Emperor Zhi were classified as his descendants; from Changyi (through Hanliu⁹) to Zhuanxue, and Emperor Shun, Gun, Yun, etc. were considered within this lineage.

Zhuanxu has an important position in the history of ancient Chinese religions. Legend has it that he was the grandson of the Yellow Emperor and the son of Changyi. But "The Classic of Regions Within the Seas" in *The Classic of Mountains and Seas* records Zhuanxu as the great grandson of the Yellow Emperor and the son of Hanliu, "Leizu, the Yellow Emperor's wife, gave birth to Changyi, who gave birth to Hanliu when he came to Ruoshui. Hanliu had a long neck, a small ear, a human face, a pig mouth, a scaled body, bowlegs, and pig toes. He married Anv, a member of the tribe Naozi, and gave birth to Zhuanxu." But other classics seldom had records of Hanliu in the pedigree of emperors. "Annals of the Five Emperors" in *Records of the Great Historian* records him as "Calm and unfathomable in his designs, and thoroughly versed in all matters, he exercised his talents in cultivating the ground; he recorded in their seasons the movements of the heavenly bodies, relied on spiritual influences in framing laws, taught reform by controlling the passion nature, and sacrificed with purity and sincerity." Legend has it that Zhuanxu ever competed for ruler-ship of the land with the River God

⁹Legend has it that Zhuanxu was the grandson of the Yellow Emperor, but *The Classic of Regions Within the Seas* records, "Leizu, the Yellow Emperor's wife, gave birth to Changyi, who came to Ruoshui and gave birth to Hanliu, who in turn gave birth to Emperor Zhuanxu." So here Zhuanxu should be the great grandson of the Yellow Emperor, but in later classics, Hanliu disappeared from the pedigree of emperors.

Gonggong, one descendant of Yandi, leaving the story of Gonggong smashing his head against Buzhou Mountain in his rage due to his defeat by Zhuanxu. "Patterns of Heaven" in the *Huainanzi* states, "in the past, Gonggong and Zhuanxu competed for the ruler-ship of the land, smashing his head against the Buzhou Mountain in his rage of defeat. The heavenly pillar was thus broken and the rope that bound the earth broke too. The sky fell to the northwest, so the sun, moon, and stars tilted thus too. The earth tilted toward the southwest, so the water and dust gathered there." Gonggong was a mythical figure in the ancient management of water conservation, revealing the historical interaction and the great changes in the origination of the land agricultural culture of the Yellow River Valley and the rice agricultural civilization of the Yangtze River Valley. The main historical influence of Zhuanxu was his religious reform of "the isolation of Heaven and Earth", whereby the unique religion - state relationship of government regulated religion and the subordination of religion to the state came into being. According to the "Discourse of Chu" in the *Discourses of the States*, because of the "decadence of the Jiuli tribes", the holy order in the remote antiquity of "the differentiation of gods and men" was disturbed, causing the chaos of "the mixture of gods and men, the non-distinction of things, all men sacrificing and declaring to be gods, religious mediums in every household, no sincerity to be found", and "people lacked adequate understanding in religious rites, not knowing their blessing; they held unlimited sacrifices, equaling men and gods, offending fasts and sacred bonds, and abandoning authority." Thereupon, "Zhuanxu took the task of redressing this trend. He asked Zhong, in the position of Sinan, to be in charge of heavenly affairs for the purpose of gathering the gods; he commanded Li, in the position of Huozheng, to be in charge of earthly affairs for the purpose of uniting the men." In so doing, "the order was resumed, and men and gods were not offensively mixed any longer"; "In this way, the wise gods descended, the male being called *xi* and the female *wu*"; "They all were in their proper positions without any interference"; "Men and gods were now oriented differently, reverent yet not offensive to each other"; "This is called the Isolation of Heaven and Earth." On the other hand, some also believe that it was the Yellow Emperor who initiated the religious reform of "the Isolation of Heaven and Earth", as recorded in "Marquis of Lv on Punishments" of the *Book of Documents*, "The Yellow Emperor compassionated the innocent multitudes that were (in danger of) being murdered... Then he commissioned Zhong and Li to make an end of the communications between earth and heaven; and the descents (of spirits) ceased." Even though the historical events could not be clarified in details, the religious reform of "the Isolation of Heaven and Earth" did impact greatly the history of Chinese religion-state relationship.

Diku is the great grandson of the Yellow Emperor, yet belonged to the subdivision of Xuanxiao, becoming emperor after Zhuanxu, and reaping the reputation of a sovereign with "awe-inspiring virtues". "The Virtues of Five Sovereigns" in *Dai the Senior's Ritual Observations* describes Diku as "born with heavenly intelligence and his own name, practicing charity and never caring much about himself; he was wise enough to discern the afar and intelligent enough to see the particulars, complying with the ways of heaven and understanding men's immediate needs;

benevolent and awe-inspiring, wise and trustworthy, he cultivated himself to win the world...”; “he rode on the dragon in Spring and Summer, the horse in Autumn and Winter, wore the yellow official garments, winning the world by following the golden mean, to such an extent that all, under the sun and moon, bathed in wind and rain, submitted to him.” It is said that Diku had four concubines and four sons, as stated in “Genealogies of Mythical Emperors” in *Dynastic Histories*, “Diku through divination knew that all his sons by his four concubines would rule the world: the first concubine, Jiangyuan, the daughter of Youtai, gave birth to Houji, the second one, Jiandi, the daughter of Hui, gave birth to Qi, the third one, Qindu, the daughter of Chenfeng, gave birth to Emperor Yao, and the last one, Changyi, the daughter of Zouzi, gave birth to Zhi.” Houji was the ancestral god of the Zhou tribes, and Qi of Yinshang Dynasty, so Diku was revered as the ancestral god of the several large tribes of China’s remote antiquity, as recorded in “The law of sacrifices” in the *Book of Rites*, “(Shun), the sovereign of the line of Yu, at the great associate sacrifice, gave the place of honour to Huang Di, and at the border sacrifice made Ku the correlate of Heaven...Under Yin, they gave the place of honour to Ku, and made Ming the correlate at the border sacrifice...Under Zhou they gave the place of honour to Ku, and made Ji the correlate at the border sacrifice.”

Emperor Yao, with family name Taotang, given name Fanfxun, historically known as Tangyao, inherited the throne from his brother Dizhi, following the latter’s untimely death due to his non-benevolence after succeeding Diku. He was highly regarded by Confucius as the first sage emperor in ancient China, as eulogized in “Taibo” of the Confucian *Analects*, “Great indeed was Yao as a sovereign! How majestic was he! It is only Heaven that is grand, and only Yao corresponded to it. How vast was his virtue! The people could find no name for it.” The *Virtues of Five Sovereigns* in *Dai the Senior’s Ritual Observations* states, “his benevolence is like heaven, his wisdom gods, and he is as the sun when people are close to him and as the clouds when admired from afar. He is rich yet not condescending; elegant yet not hesitant. He wore the yellow official garments, and rode the red chariots and white horses. He appointed Boyi to be in charge of rites, Long and Kui in charge of ritual dance, selected Sun and Pengzu, and governed successfully the ancients and the four seasons. He banished Gonggong to Youzhou to transform the the Northern barbarians, dispatched Huandou to Mount Chong to transform the southern barbarians, killed Sanmiao at Sanwei to transform the western barbarians, and killed Gun at Mount Yu to transform the eastern barbarians.” In “Canon of Yao” of *The Book of History* are also found praising words of him, such as “manifesting the grand virtues within himself” and “harmonizing all states of the world”. It was said that Yao ever used Gun to subdue the floods and sentenced him to death after 9 years of no success; after seeking opinions from Siyue, Yao appointed Shun to be his successor, and, after observing his performance for 3 years, asked him to take official duties, granting Shun the emperor-ship after his death, and in so doing initiating the *Shanrang* tradition of peaceful and polite transferring the throne to a sagely person.

Emperor Shun, with the name Youyushi, also named Yushun, with the given name Chonghua, was a descendant of the subdivision of Zhuanxu, becoming emperor due to Emperor Yao's Shanrang. He was one of the legendary ancient sage emperors, acclaimed as "Yao-Shun" and "the Tao of Yao-Shun" and highly regarded by Confucius. "Wei Ling Gong" of *The Confucian Analects* states, "May not Shun be instanced as having governed efficiently without exertion? What did he do? He did nothing but gravely and reverently occupy his royal seat." "The Virtues of Five Sovereigns" in *Dai the Senior's Ritual Observations* records that Emperor Sun "was eager to learn, very friendly, known within the four seas, caring of the family, supporting his parents conscientiously, tolerant and benevolent, wise and sensitive to the times, revering heaven and loving the people, reverent of the deceased and endearing the family members. He was entrusted with great responsibilities and was married to Nihuang. With wisdom and comprehensive knowledge, he worked conscientiously for the world. He asked Yu to distribute the land, and name the mountains and rivers to benefit the people. He asked Houji to take up sowing and planting so as to reap good grains for food and drink. He asked Xihe to be in charge of the calendar and teach people to know the times. He asked Yi to use fire to restore the grass-growing wasted land. He entrusted Poyi with etiquette to moralize the world; and Kui with music teaching, with song and dance accompanied by bells and drums. He appointed Gaotao as the shi, sincere and reliable in communication with and understanding of the people; and Qi as the Situ to instruct the people to be polite and friendly to others, revering the political system and following the classics. Shun's words were not confusing, his virtues are not sly, and he initiated a world of harmony by appointing the sagely and talented ones." Legend has it that Emperor Shun "rose at the first crowing of the rooster, and dedicated himself to doing only the good," skilled at knowing and using the talented ones and appointing only the sagely officials; he ever "appointed Yu, the son of Gun, to succeed Gun's mission," who eventually accomplished the task of subduing the floods. Shun later on transferred his throne to Yun, instead of his own sons. Emperor Sun, in southern tour of inspection, died in the wilderness of Cangwu, leaving many myths, particularly the legendary descriptions of "the yellow dragon carrying the diagram to be presented to Sun". The era of emperors Yao and Shun was regarded as the golden age in China's remote antiquity, acclaimed as an ideal republic with political ideals of "the embodiment of the great Tao" and "all the world as one community", giving rise to the saying of the country in the heyday of peace with "the sky of Yao and sun of Shun". After the ending of the era of the Five Sovereigns, the Chinese mythical tradition entered the age when historical records were available, with the watershed of the legends and historical facts of Yu, the first emperor of Xia Dynasty. Yu, the son of Gun, the great grandson of Zhuanxu, also known as Dayu, Xiayu or Rongyu, and with given name Wenming, was revered as the ancestral god of the Huaxia People; he was also revered as the God of Water Regulation and God of the Land, for he was away from home for 13 years to subdue the floods and did not enter his house three times to be responsible for his duty. "Annals of the Xia" in *Records of the Grand Historian* states, "Yu was quick, earnest, and diligent, not deviating from virtue, kind, and lovable; his word

could be depended on, his voice was musical, and his body, like a balance properly adjusted, moved unweariedly and solemnly in accordance with certain fixed rules.” “Wearied in body and distressed in mind, he lived away from his home for 13 years, passing the door of his house without daring to enter. With ragged clothes and poor diet he paid his devotions to the spirits until his wretched hovel fell in ruins in the ditch.” ... On the one hand he used the marking-line, and on the other the compass and square. Working as the seasons permitted, and with a view to open up the nine provinces, he made the roads communicable, banked up the marshes, and surveyed the hills... Yu in this way worked for the mutual convenience of the respective districts as regards the distribution of the wealth and resources of the country.” Yu became emperor due to the Shanrang of Shun, thus leading China into the written history of Xiyu Epoch (around 2183 BC).

The worship of ancient gods ended between the legends and historical facts of Yu the Great subduing the floods. Other famous myths included “Jingwei Tries to Fill the Sea”, “Kuafu Running After the Sun”, “Yi Shooting Down the Ten Suns”, “Chang’e Flying to the Moon”, “Cangjie Creating the Characters”, “Yugong Moving the Mountain”, etc. The Chinese primitive religious activities found expressions in sacrifice, witchcraft, divination, etc., forming gradually the sacrificial systems of heaven, earth, gods, ancestors, land and grains, etc., as well as religious death rituals. In the Zhou Dynasty, the ancient sacrificial system witnessed power and differences in the emperor, deemed the Son of Heaven, sacrificing for heaven, and his eldest son sacrificing for ancestors. There were four levels of the Son of Heaven sacrificing for heaven, namely, Temple Sacrifice, Repaying Sacrifice, Sacrifice at Suburbs, and Fengshan (Imperial Sacrifice on Mount Tai): Temple Sacrifice, carried out monthly, had the incorporated the Mingtang or Hall of Brightness in the Zhou dynasty to carry out religious activities, and was therefore called Mingtang Sacrifice, which was on a small scale; The Repaying Sacrifice, heaven sacrifice activities on great occasions, usually involved the beginning of new dynasties, the coronation ceremonies of new emperors, or special national events such as capital moving, vassal states granting, etc.; Sacrifice at Suburbs was the annual great heaven sacrifice at the southern suburbs of the capital, related to sowing or harvesting, thus possessing the features of farming culture; Fengshan (Imperial Sacrifice on Mount Tai) was the most important heavenly sacrifice, with a lot of people and difficulties involved, since it was an important national event to build altars and make sacrifices to heaven. Related to the sacrifice to heaven were the rites of sacrificing to land, the sun, and the moon, for instance, the land sacrifice held every Spring, Autumn and Winter on the northern outskirts of the capital, as well as the “morning sun and evening moon”rites to make sacrifices to the sun and the moon. These ancient sacrificial rites emphasized the relationship between men, society and nature, which explains the humanistic and ecological nature of Chinese ancient religions at the fountainhead. They focused on the human relationships and the heaven-man relationships, with strong religious features of “exploring the different roles of heaven and man”. The institution of “the Hall of Brightness”

reflected the religion-state unity and thereby guided the development trend of ancient Chinese religion-state relationship.

3.1.5 *The Development of the Concept of Shenming (Gods of Divine Insight)*

In the development of ancient Chinese religious concepts of divine spirits, the initial understandings of ghosts and spirits were formed from “spirit” and “the immortality of the spirit”. As mentioned earlier, ancient Chinese called the spirit after one’s death “ghost”, and the spirits of emperors, ancestors, tribal chiefs and the heroes of the clans were revered as “divine spirits”. In ancient Chinese religious expressions, the word “Shen” was always used to denote divine spirits and divinity, as stated in “Zeng Zi Tian Yuan” of *Dai the Senior’s Ritual Observations*, “the essence of Yang is called shen and the essence of Yin is called ling; Shen-ling means the root of the myriad of things.” Initially, Shen was used to express the spirit of the deceased with the higher social status, in contrast to the common people whose spirit after death is called “gui (ghost)”. But later the word “shen” was given more connotations, and was in collocation with many relevant words, the frequent being “*tianshen* (heavenly gods)”, as in “to sacrifice for heavenly gods” from “Official of Music” in “Spring Official” of *Rites of Zhou*, whose notes being “the Five Sovereigns, as well as the sun, the moon, and the stars”. Meanwhile, the one who has attained or realized the Tao was called *xian* (an immortal), name *shenxian*; the gods of heaven and earth were called *shenhuo*, with “heavenly gods called *shen* and earthly gods *huo*”. The names of ancient gods also included “*shenhuang*”, as noted in “Supreme Flood” of *The Book of Master Pheasant Hat*, “*Shenhuang* possibly means bright heaven”. And what functions mysteriously between heaven and earth is called “*shendao* (the Tao of shen)”, as the Commentary to the “Guan” of the *Book of Change*, “Shendao is subtle and shapeless, incalculable with reason and invisible to the eye; no one knows how it came to be; such is Shendao”

The word *Di* specifically referred to the spirit of the emperor after his death in the Shang Dynasty, and “Shangdi” in ancient China evolved from “*Di*”, with its original meaning of the spirit tablet inside the temple shrine to make sacrifices to the deceased emperor. In ancient Chinese religions, “*Di*” also meant the supreme god with unparalleled authority, found in related expressions such as “*Shangdi* (God Above)”, “*Tiandi* (Heavenly God)”, “*Dijun* (Godly Sovereign)”, etc.. It had various expressions in ancient classics: “How vast is God, / The ruler of men below!” (“Decade Of Dang” in “Greater odes of the kingdom” of the *Book of Poetry*); “stay composed like the great god and move like the heavenly God” (“Rectifying Theses” of *Xunzi*). “The Sovereign of Five Gods” was used to express reverence to the heavenly gods, and where the heavenly god resided was termed “*Dixiang* (Home of God)”.

The word “Tian” had a special connotation in ancient China. It was not just the sky, but a god with wills and intentions, seen as the sovereign of all. Its religious undertones are strong; otherwise, there wouldn’t be a tradition of “revering Tian”. In fact, “Tian” was another reverent term to address the supreme god: “Heaven, for the help of the inferior people, made for them rulers, and made for them instructors” (“Great Declaration I” of the *Book of History*); “From Heaven are the (social) relationships with their several duties; we are charged with (the enforcement of) those five duties - and lo! we have the five courses of honorable conduct. From Heaven are the (social) distinctions with their several ceremonies; from us come the observances of those five ceremonies - and lo! They appear in regular practice. ... Heaven graciously distinguishes the virtuous - are there not the five habiliments, five decorations of them? Heaven punishes the guilty - are there not the five punishments, to be severally used for that purpose?” (“Counsels of Gao-Tao” of the *Book of History*). All these systematic expressions reflected the will and divinity of “Tian”, hence the development of the religious ethics of “matching heaven with virtues”. Many collocations of “Tian” obviously distinguished the “sovereign Tian” and “Tian of fate” with the sky in the natural sense, as frequently seen in ancient documents: “*huangtian* (imperial heaven)”, “*haotian* (bright heaven)”, “*mintian* (Autumn heaven)”, “*shangtian* (heaven above)”, “*cangtian* (Azure Heaven)”, etc.. According to Xu Shen’s *Various Meanings of the Five Classics*, “*Tian* has five titles, namely, *huangtian* when *tian* is regarded reverently as a sovereign, *haotian* in reference to its vast cosmic energy, *mintian* when benevolence showers all below, *shangtian* when the god above surveys all below, and *cangtian* when it appears vast and azure, viewed from afar. Relevant terms also included “heavenly emperor”, “heavenly god”, “heavenly sovereign”, etc. with the same meaning of God, and “heavenly emperor” referring to the first of the Chinese legendary “Three Emperors”. Besides, the word “Tianzhu (Lord of Heaven)” had an early origin in China’s ancient religions, as stated in “Fengshanshu” of *Record of the Great Historian*, “of the eight gods, one is called *Tianzhu*, given due sacrifices equal to heaven”. After the entry of Buddhism to China, Buddhists also regarded the chief of all heavens as *Tianzhu*, and Catholicism, too, called their God *Tianzhu*, hence its name in Chinese. This explains the fact that all foreign religions that come to China and want to be understood and accepted by the Chinese must undergo linguistic and cultural “sinicization”. This association with “Tian” was also extended to “*Tianming* (heavenly mandate)”. “*Tiandao* (Tao of Heaven)”, “*Tianyi*” (the will of heaven), etc.. Of these *Tianming* refers to the mandate of heaven, as stated in “Jishi” of the *Confucian Analects*, “There are three things of which the superior man stands in awe. He stands in awe of the ordinances of Heaven. He stands in awe of great men. He stands in awe of the words of sages.”; “*Tiandao* (Tao of Heaven)” refers to the will of god that governs the human fate, as in “*Tanggao*” of *The Book of Documents*, “the Tao of heaven blesses the good and inflicts the evil”; and “*Tianyi*” is the will of heaven. In the Chinese idioms is the expression of “*Laotianye*” (literally “old grandfather of heaven”). The Chinese “my heaven” and the western “my God” both are rooted in religion.

In the Shang Dynasty, “god” in the religious sense was usually expressed in terms such as “shangdi (god above)”, “huangshangdi (sovereign god above)”, “huangtianshangdi (imperial god of heaven)”, etc, reflecting the sublimation of the human soul in the concrete sense of personified gods. Yet after the Zhou Dynasty, “Tian” was always used to express faith in a supreme god, which explains the increasing abstraction in the understanding of divinity, as well as the combination of people’s contemplating the borders of the sky, revering heaven, fearing heaven and their perception of the boundless universe. The Chinese ancient “matching heaven with virtues” had already expressed the religious realm as perceived by the western philosopher Immanuel Kant, according to whom, “Two things awe me most, the starry sky above me and the moral law within me.”

3.2 The Confucian School and the Confucian Religion

Whether the Confucian religion existed or not is debatable academically. Those who regard Confucianism as religion deem it as historically the Chinese people’s mainline religion and the official religion, or the so-called “state religion”. Those who do not either totally negate the existence of religions in the Chinese history or believe that there existed a “traditional patriarchal religion” as an orthodox religion. But this nameless patriarchal traditional religion is very close to the Confucian religion in nature and status, and those who hold this opinion simply do not want to use “Confucian religion” to term it, arguing that the word “ru” can only be used as a school of thought or an ideological or cultural system or its sub-division; hence, only the Confucian School, Confucianism, but not the Confucian religion. Whether the Confucian religion is or is not a religion, or whether it existed or not reflects the Chinese understanding of religion, and the differing opinions about whether there is religious symbolism in traditional Chinese culture. In fact, expressions about the Confucian religion did exist and the theories and activities regarding the Confucian religion were also recorded in history.

3.2.1 Expressions of “Ru”

Expressions of “Ru” were earlier than the time of Confucius. In the Shang and Zhou dynasties, wu (shaman), bu (diviners), shi (officials in charge of historical documents) and ru are the earliest ones to handle culture, or the earliest intelligentsia, of whom ru are those that served the higher strata nobility that succeeded the positions of wu, shi, bu and zhu (priests in charge of prayers). “Ru” originally meant “shushi”, that is, the religious priests in the sense of ancient religions, as argued by Hu Shi, who regarded “Ru” as the “priests of the Shang Dynasty”. The Chinese character 儒 in the turtle shell inscriptions was “需”, with the upper part 水 (water) and lower part 人 or the human shape, that is, an ideogram that shows one who is

bathing. According to the *Book of Change*, “clouds ascending over the sky forms Xu.” According to “The conduct of the Ru scholar” in the *Book of Rites*, “The scholar keeps his person free from stain, and continually bathes (and refreshes) his virtue (bathing and refreshing refer to cleaning and fasting), showing the Ru priests’ reverence for the Di (heavenly emperor), gods and ghosts. Zhang Taiyan in his *Origins of the Ru* argues that “the word 儒, a derivative of the word 需, originally meant the priest who prays for the rain”; Yin Dai in his *Short Verses* also pointed out those emperors were often entrusted with the responsibilities of praying for rain for the people. From the above, we know that the word Ru inherently had religious connotations, and revealed the connections between religion and politics in ancient China. Towards the end of the Spring and Autumn periods, Ru began to take on the meaning of “teacher”, as recorded in ancient documents, “Ru, teaching the Tao to the people” and “Ru, winning the people with the Tao” (“Prime Minister” in “The Executive Ministers” of the *Book of Rites*). Ever since, the instructional and moralizing meaning of Ru has become increasingly manifest, just as “Treatise on Literature” of the *Book of Han* states, “the Confucianists most probably were in the official rank of *Situ*, assisting the emperor in harmonizing with the Yin-yang and educating the people.” With the declining the status of Ru to the level of ordinary intellectuals in the Spring and Autumn period, they could still make a living by leading rituals and ceremonies as they were masters of the six practical disciplines called the Six Arts: rites, music, archery, chariot racing, calligraphy and mathematics. Confucius ever was a professional “Ru”, regarding the Six Arts as the content and the way of his teaching”, writing about the Six Classics, and focusing on the correlation between ren (benevolence) and yi (righteousness). He thus developed an internal connection with “Ru”, making it specifically a term for himself and his school of thought. “The Study of Ru” originally means the “study of Ruists”; “Outline of the Essentials” of *Huainanzi* states, “Confucius was cultivated in the ways of Emperors Wen and Wu, and narrated the teachings of Duke Zhou, so as to teach the seventy disciples, making them clothed in garments and learned of classics of that time; they thus became the students of Ruists”.

The earliest expressions of “Ru” were found in the statements of Sima Qian, who in his “Biographies of the Wandering Knights” in *Record of the Great Historian* states, “Zhu Jia was contemporaneous with Emperor Gaozu. The people of Lu all preferred Ru as their teaching, but Zhu Jia was known for knighthood”, reflecting the fact that the “People of Lu” had deemed Ru as “religion” or “teaching”. Thereafter, the historical records of “Rujiao” included also Cai Yong of Han Dynasty’s the *Stele of Yang the Sikong*, “Taiwei (highest military official) succeeded the past pedigree and held to Ruism faithfully”; “Biography of Chen Shao” in *Jinshu* states, “Chen Shao, the mentor of Yan Wang, the Ruler of Yan, was pure, faithful and peaceful; his noble behavior was exemplary to states and clans; his consistent wish was for the classics; he had profound knowledge of the Six Classics; he had a deep love of the ancient classics; he was hardworking even in his old age, practicing Ruism faithfully”; and Ge Hong’s “Inner Chapters” of *The Master Who Embraced Innocence* states, “Taoism had been the way of ruler-ship prior to the era of Three Sovereigns; Ruism had been at the center since the

Emperors. The terming of “Ru jiao” as “Kong Jiao” started from Xie Lingyun (Southern Dynasties)’s *Discussion of Essentials*, which argued about “those who stuck to Kongjiao and became the sages of knowledge”. Later on, Ming Shanbin of the Liang of the Southern Dynasties, Shi Ceng Yan of Qi, etc. all termed Rujiao as Kongjiao, paving the way for Kang Youwei of the early modern age, to revere Confucius as the founder of Kongjiao and change Rujiao into Kongjiao.

But Ruism, as a religion, had already been questioned in history. The anonymous of the Yuan Dynasty stated, “it is a universal truth that Ru cannot be regarded as a religion”¹⁰. Thus, whether Rujiao is a religion has been debated ever since early history.

3.2.2 *The Founding of Rujiao (Confucian Religion)*

Under the influence of ancient religious traditions, and due to people’s regard and popular reception of the thoughts of Confucius, in the long history of feudal society, the Han Chinese formed a special kind of religion, that is, *Rujiao* or the Confucian Religion. Rujiao, as a form of religion, was a result of the fact that Liu Che, Emperor Wudi of the Han Dynasty, accepting the suggestion of Dong Zhongshu, used his political power to practice “Banishing All Other Schools of Thought and Promoting Only Confucianism”, religionized the Confucian teachings, revered Confucius as the founder of the religion, and stipulated Confucianism as the only revered religion.

Seen in the perspective of Confucianism as religion, the development of the Confucian religion underwent three stages. In the Pre-Qin stage, or the Confucian Ruism (the pre-Rujiao period), Confucianism was not a religion and Confucius himself did not enjoy the rare honor of being the founder of a religion. The second is the stage of Han Ruism, or the period in which Dong Zhongshu actually established the Confucian Religion, for “Emperor Wudi of Han Dynasty affirmed the practice of ‘promoting Confucianism only’, which was the hallmark of the official birth of Rujiao, and Dong’s “Three Schemes on Heaven and People” in answer to Emperor Wudi, was the first cardinal principle of the Confucian religion¹¹. At this stage, Confucianism became a religion, a national religion. Confucius and Mencius were only the pioneers in the thought of the Confucian religion, Dong Zhongshu, instead, was the real founder of the religion, and it is due to him that Confucius was revered as the founder of the Confucian religion. The third one is the stage of Song Ruism, the real formation of the Confucian religion in the doctrinal sense, thanks to the theoretical explorations of Zhu Xi and other Lixue (learning of the principle) scholars: the Confucian religion thus attained its complete and orthodox form. In this sense, “Song Dynasty witnessed the official

¹⁰Refer to *The Chinese Taoist Canon*, Ed. Zhang Jiyu. Huaxia Press, 2004, p. 664.

¹¹Li (2000).

formation of the Confucian religion”¹². Zhu Xi’s “Preface” to his *Commentary on Great Learning* became the new guidelines of the Confucian religion, and its “building an altar to make sacrifices in the open is called ‘Tian’; making sacrifices to gods in the temple shrine is called ‘Di’” became the ideological basis for the later reform of the Confucian ritual institutions.

It is only natural that, Confucianism, as a religion, should have its places of worship, hence the development of Confucian Temples. In fact, prior to Dong Zhongshu’s establishment of Confucianism as a religion, there had already been sacrificial rituals to Confucius. After his death, Confucius was buried at Beisi of the Town of Lu. Luaigong (Emperor of the State of Lu) set up the Confucian Shrine in the house site of Confucius in Zouyi (southwest of Qufu City today), “setting up the shrine to allow the spirit to return home, stationing guards for it, and making sacrifices according to the seasons of the year”. Thus, from the original “three rooms as the shrine” to the specific locale for commemorating Confucius, the rudimentary form of the Confucian Temple came into being. In the early years of the Han Dynasty (195 BC), Emperor Gaozu (Liu Bang) of the Han Dynasty went to Qufu to make sacrifices to Confucius, initiating the beginning of honoring Confucius. After Emeror Wudi made Confucianism a state religion, the activities of commemorating Confucian were increasing in frequency, thus honoring Confucius and Setting up Confucian Temples becoming a tradition. “According to records, in the early years of the reign of Emperor Yuandi, Kong Ba, Baochengjun, the Grand Preceptor, was summoned by the Emperor and granted a fief of 800 households to commemorate Confucius and a noble title of Guanneiyou, thus initiating the granting of dukedom to the descendants of Confucius. In the first year of Yuanshi Era (title of the regnal year) of Emperor Pingdi of the Han Dynasty, Confucius was granted the posthumous title of Baochengxuannigong (Exalted Ni, Duke of Consummate Perfection), thus initiating the granting of posthumous titles. After Emperor Guang Wu’s return from his defeat of Dong Xian, he sent the Dasikong (Great Minister of Public Works) to go to Qufu to honor Confucius with Tailao (sacrificial animals of cattle, sheep and pigs), thereby beginning the tradition of dispatching special emissaries to make sacrifices to Confucius. During the eastern tour of investigation of Emperor Mingdi of Han Dynasty, Zhangdi (the later Emperor Zhang of Han Dynasty), his son, to commemorate Confucius, as well as his seventy-two worthy disciples in the Confucian Temple of Qufu, gave preferential treatment to the descendants of Confucius, and carried out teaching of etiquette and ritual music. The Emperor did teaching in the Confucian temples, making them serving the function of schools. In the first regnal year of Emperor Huandi of the Han Dynasty (153 AD), an imperial decree was issued to construct Confucian temples...and ordered Kong he to be the Official in Charge of Guarding the Temples; a Stele was set up in the Temple to commemorate the event. Hence, the functions of Confucian temples were clarified and the sacrificial Spring and

¹²*Arguments on the Issues of the Confucian Religion*. Ed. Ren Jiyu., p. 71.

Autumn rituals of sacrifice were fixed.”¹³ Thus, in both theory and practice, the functions and features of the Confucian religion were manifested.

3.2.3 *The Development of the Confucian Religion*

Different from the classification of the Confucian religion into the three stages of Pre-Confucianism, Han Confucianism and Song Confucianism, Ren Jiyu used to have a more detailed analysis of the development of the Confucian religion. To him, the history of the Confucian religion underwent six stages of development: “(1) Pre-Confucianism (prior to Qin and Han Dynasties); (2) Pseudo-Confucianism (the two Han Dynasties); (3) Co-existence of the three religions (Dynasties of Wei, Jin, Sui and Tang); (4) the formative stage (the Northern Song Dynasty represented by Zhang and Cheng); (5) the completed stage (Southern Song Dynasty represented by Zhu Xi); and (6) the consolidated stage (Ming and Qing Dynasties).”¹⁴ The Confucian religion regards as its core the Confucian patriarchalism, which centers on “Revering Heaven and following ancestors”; this reverence of heaven does reflect substantially the religious nature of the Confucian religion. As argued above, heaven in its natural sense need not be revered and worshiped; in ancient China, the “Tian” got its connotation of the abstract divinity and intelligence; and in Confucius’ understanding of heaven we already find this religiosity, which was intensified in terms of its divinity and intelligence after the formation of the Confucian religion. In addition, after the establishment of the Confucian religion, people began to worship “Heaven, Earth, Sovereign, Parents and Teachers” and promulgate the theories of Yin Yang and Five Elements, thus unifying the powers of divinity, sovereigns, fathers and husbands, and formulating a complete system of feudal divine power and its theology. “The Four Books” and “Five Classics” comprise the main canon of the Confucian religion; sacrificing to Heaven, Confucius and Ancestors constitutes its basic religious ritual; and the altars, the Confucian temples and the Temple for Emeritus Emperors make up the locales for corresponding sacrificial activities.

Regarding the development of sacrifices to heaven, after the reign of Emperor Wudi of the Han Dynasty, the sacrificial rites at suburbs were preserved and even deemed the most important duty of an emperor. During the reign of Emperor Pingdi of Han Dynasty, Wang Mang promoted the reform of the suburb sacrificial rites, focusing on the intensification of Supreme God worship and changing Taiyi (Great One), the name of the ancient God, into Huangtian Shangdi Taiyi (Great One of August Heaven’s Supreme Lord), with the purport of supreme divine titles of Heaven and God standing out. Moreover, this reform also emphasized the significance of “suibian” in the emperor’s sacrifice to Heaven; that is, the emperor should make annual sacrifices to heaven and earth, not the former frequency of once every

¹³Gao and Fan (1994).

¹⁴Ren (2010).

3 or 5 years. Since the dynasties of Sui and Tang, the supreme God of the Confucian religion was, in accordance with the Confucian classics, termed “Haotian Shangdi” (Supreme God of Immense Heaven), with meaning derived from “the immensity of the cosmic Qi is called *Haotian*... What men revere most is none other than Di (God); when attributed to Heaven, it is called *Shangdi* (God Above or Heavenly God)”¹⁵. The Confucian ontological insight into the “great origin of Tao being Heaven” led to its physical and spiritual resort in real life as “instructing the people with Tao” and “cultivating the virtues in people with Tao”, whereby exhibiting its religiosity. In the Confucian religious tradition, “Tian” had a uniquely supreme position, and its status as the state religion of the ensuing Chinese feudal imperial dynasties gave rise to the exclusive privilege of the emperor as the Son of Heaven to lead heavenly sacrifices, that is, the so-called “emperor-only sacrifice”; and his subjects would be considered trespassing their propriety if found making sacrifices to heaven, yet the lower levels of sacrificing to diverse heavenly gods were very common in the Chinese society. The Confucian religion regarded all sacrifices outside of its stipulations as “unorthodox sacrifices” and their locales as “unorthodox shrines”, hence the tradition of repelling and attacking heresies.

With regards to the rituals in sacrificing to Confucius, the prominent position of the Confucian religion in society after its establishment all the more reinforced the Confucian sacrificial activities. In the reign of Emperor Lingdi of Eastern Han Dynasty, these worship and sacrifices were further expanded to the extent that both Confucius and his seventy-two worthy disciples had their own portraits to be worshiped and Confucius’ memorial tablet was set up in the Confucian temples. In the first year (AD 539) of the reign of Emperor Xiaojing of Eastern Wei Dynasty, during the renovation of the Confucian temples, “ten disciples were standing by the sagely continenced Confucius”; thus the statue of Confucius came into being. At least starting from the Northern Wei Dynasty, Confucian temples were built outside of Qufu, and in this way the Confucian temple was transformed from Confucius’ home site into temples specially for worship. Since the Han Dynasty, Confucius was revered as “Primordial Saint and Teacher” and later as “Perfect Saint and Primordial Teacher with Great Achievement”. In order to promote the teachings of Confucius and Mencius and Confucian culture, all prefectures and counties began to set up Confucian Temples (Wenmiao or Temple of Culture), and many Confucian temples assumed the function of schools, giving rise to the unity of temples and schools. In the Tang Dynasty, the Confucian Temple was set up in Chang’an, its capital, and the Emperor himself went there to lead sacrifices to Confucius; Emperor Taizong of Tang issued the imperial decree that “Confucius is to be specially worshiped, revered as primordial saint, and Yanhui (a disciple of Confucius) to be revered as primordial teacher and worshiped alongside Confucius in the Temple.” At the beginning of his reign, Emperor Taizu of Song Dynasty had a thorough renovation of the Confucian Temples, decreeing that sixteen halberds and eulogies to the portraits of Confucius and Yanhui be placed in front of the

¹⁵Vol. One of *Datangkaiyuan Li* or *Ritual Code of the Kaiyuan Period in the Great Tang*.

Confucian Temple, initiating the tradition of Temple Halberds and Portrait Eulogies. At the beginning of Yuan Dynasty, when “Yanjing had just resumed peace after repression, Wang Ji, in the position of Xuanfu, reported to the Emperor to convert the locale of the Ministry of Important Affairs as the Temple for the Primordial Sage” (Chapter on Exam System of the history of Yuan Dynasty). Later the Yuan Dynasty Capital Dadu (or Beijing) also witnessed the building of Sage Temples. Ming Dynasty emperors thought that the construction of Confucian temples was for the purpose of promoting his “teaching” and “Tao”, emphasizing that “Confucius employed Tao in his teaching; the world worshiped his ideal, not his person; they worshiped his teaching and his Tao” (“Biography of Qian Tang” in *History of Ming Dynasty*). In the Ming and Qing dynasties, the imperial court would allocate funds to renovate the fire stricken Confucian temples, and both Emperor Kangxi and Emperor Qianlong had visited Confucian temples for sacrifice. The Confucian temples had numbered 1500 towards the end of the Qing Dynasty. In view of the significance of “worshiping his Tao” and “sanctifying instructional transformation”, the religiosity and religious features of Confucianism are difficult to negate.

Regarding ancestral worship rituals, since Emperor Liu Bang of Western Han Dynasty set up the Temple for his father, it had become a tradition to build shrines to make sacrifices to ancestors. Later on, family shrines increased in number and scale, forming the sacrificial system of “making daily offerings at Qin (central palace in the shrine), monthly sacrifice at the ancestral shrine and the seasonal sacrifices at the side palace”. The Han Dynasty Confucians directly participated in the drafting of the ancestral shrine stipulations, stipulating that only the emperor and his eldest son could make sacrificial offerings to ancestors at the ancestral shrines, in order to follow the commandment in the Confucian classics that the sons by the concubines could not make sacrificial offerings to the father and ancestors.

On the other hand, the Confucian religion had not only worshiping and ritual activities, but also explored the “ontological origin of the heavenly Tao”, with the spiritual pursuit of “deducing and clarifying the origination of the myriad of things” and “exploring the different roles of heaven and man”; it manifested in a realistic way the coexistence of the “Three Teachings” of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism in the ancient Chinese cultural tradition. When reflecting upon the coexistence of the three religions, we find only Confucianism as a religion was questioned, which is interesting and worth pondering in the human understanding of religions. In fact, their difference lies not in the actual existence, but in the differing ideologies. Historically, the three religions had similar influences on the life of the Chinese people, without substantial distinctions. “Since the Southern and Northern Dynasties, Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism were termed the Three Religions (Teachings), all of which had social functions of assisting the emperor’s instructional transformations and unifying the people, and thus were highly regarded and supported by the government.”¹⁶ In the Sui and Tang Dynasties, the terming of

¹⁶“Prologue” by Li (1999).

Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism as “Three Teachings” was widespread and since the Tang and Song Dynasties there had been the phenomenon of “Unity of the Three Religions”. In the Chinese cultural tradition, “the three teachings are like the three legs of a cauldron, all being indispensable”.¹⁷ Generally, Confucianism was regarded as promoting the “humanistic spirit”, emphasizing “the study of man”, and manifesting the “human measure” rooted in “the virtues of heaven and earth” and “the heart of heaven and earth”; all these seemed irrelevant to religion. But its practice of “revering heaven” transformed the Confucianism that upheld the “benevolence” in regulating the family and governing the country into the “Confucian Religion” that expressed a transcendental pursuit. The sky in the natural sense need not be revered with awe, and people could have treated it with “silence”. The Confucian religious ideals and practices of “manifesting the Tao of Heaven” and “carrying out the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth” are definitely not naturalistic or atheistic. Therefore, according to the arguments of Ren Jiyu, “the Confucian religion, though lacking the external features of religions, does possess all their inherent qualities.”¹⁸ Thus it can be argued that the understanding of religion lies in combining its theory and practice, perceiving both its ideologies and the lives of people, particularly their intellectual and spiritual lives.

In its over 2000 years of development, the Confucian Religion had exerted a tremendous impact on the Chinese people, especially the Han, shaping to some extent the mentality, disposition and the unique way of thinking of the Chinese, and contributing to the long-standing historical tradition. Yet, its persistent preservation of the feudal dynasties and its depression of human nature were also undeniably factual. Its political involvement in and dependence on the Chinese society led to its fatal bond with the Chinese feudal politics; as the “state religion”, it died its natural death with the overthrow of feudalism by the Xinhai (1911) Revolution, completing its historical process. On the other hand, since the Xinhai Revolution and May Fourth Movement of the early 20th century, Confucianism as a religion had been increasingly weak in its impact, but not completely out of existence. The overthrow of China’s feudalism in 1911 is generally regarded as the time of demise for the Confucian religion, but this applies only to the case within the Chinese mainland. In the early 20th century, Kang Youwei and others advocated the reverence of Confucius and the reading of Confucian classics, believing that the Confucian religion was the “national spirit” of China, and even asserting that the Confucian religion should be rendered as the “national religion”. To him, only when the Confucian religion was accorded the status of national religion could “the people’s heart be oriented, customs be regulated, virtues be set, and instructional transformation be standardized”; “if we now want to offer salvation to people’s heart and beautification to the customs, the only thing to do is to set up a national religion, which depends on the reverence of Confucius” (Kang Youwei, *On the Rendering of Confucianism as a National Religion to Match Heaven*). Chen Huanzhang and

¹⁷Cf: Ren (1998).

¹⁸Ren (2010).

others set up Confucian universities in the 1920s in Beijing, and carried out heaven sacrifices and Confucius worship rituals. These activities had a close link with the modern folk revival of the Confucian religion. At present, there are Confucian institutions of the Holy Confucian Church, the China General Association of the Sage, The Hall of the Sage of Confucius, The Institute of Confucian Teachings, etc. in Hong Kong; in Taiwan the historical traditions of Confucian sacrificial rituals were continued, as well as activities of “Neo-Confucian religion”. In China’s mainland, ever since the Reform and Open policies were executed, many sacrificial rituals commemorating the ancestors of Yandi and Huangdi emperors together with grand ceremonies for worshipping Confucius were revived; Confucius institutes and organized reading of Confucian classics also came to the scene, with historical echoes reverberating in our ears.

3.2.4 The Ideological Lineage of the Confucian Religion

The theories of the Confucian religion were based on the Confucian school of thought, with the teachings of Confucius as the fountainhead. In addition to the fundamental concept of “revering heaven and following ancestors”, the Confucian religion accepted the systematic theories of benevolence, righteousness, courtesy, wisdom and sincerity, promoted the holistic and harmonious ideology through the “harmony and union” philosophy in the Chinese culture, and advocated the “harmony of man and heaven” in interpersonal relationships, thus unifying the transcendental and the human realms; it advocated “the unity of knowledge and action” in viewing words and deeds, while unifying theory and practice; and it concerned “the unity of heart and nature” in unifying the subject and object. Though the Confucian religion had transcendental views and ultimate concerns, it was rooted in practicality, not separated from the social life, and stressing “matching heaven with virtues” and “inner sageliness and outer kingliness” to achieve transcendence in personal cultivation and “rest only in the supreme good”. The organic combination of the transcendental and immanent dimensions, as manifested admirably in “What Heaven has conferred is called The Nature; an accordance with this nature is called The Path of duty; the regulation of this path is called Instruction” (“The state of equilibrium and harmony”), thus realizing the organic co-construction and unitary harmony of Nature, Tao and Instruction. Due to its emphasis on social order and its hierarchical system of “Three Bonds and Five Moral Norms”, Confucianism also had the quality of bonds, norms and feudal moralities.

The religionization of Confucianism started in the Han Dynasty, and its philosophical theories were transformed into the theoretical systems of theology and Jingxue (the study of classics). According to Ren Jiyu, “since the Revering Only Confucianism by Emperor Wudi of Han Dynasty, Confucianism had had its rudimentary form of religion. But some of its religious features still needed to be optimized. With the inter-infiltration and mutual influence from Taoism and Buddhism during the Sui and Tang dynasties, compounded with the intentional

support on the part of the emperors, the unity of the three religions had seen their favorable conditions. Centering on the Confucian feudal ethics, and absorbing the religious forms of cultivation from Buddhism and Taoism, Chinese Confucian religion saw its eventual completion, marked by the establishment of the School of Principles of the Song and Ming dynasties. Its cardinal belief was in the “Heaven, Earth, Sovereign, Parents and Teachers” (with Sovereign and Parents being the core of China’s feudal patriarchalism), organically combining the feudal patriarchalism with the mysterious religious world outlooks. Heaven is the foundation for the Divine Eight of Kings, Earth the foil to Heaven, and Teachers the high priests that spoke for Heaven, Earth, Sovereign and Parents; teachers had the right of final explanation.”¹⁹ The Confucian religion underwent two important reforms during its ideological and theoretical development. The first was when the Confucian theories became the national religion represented by Dong Zhongshu of the Han Dynasty, and the second was when its orthodoxy was completed with the assistance of the School of Principle in the Song and Ming dynasties represented by Zhu Xi.

In answer to the three policy questions raised by Emperor Wudi of the Han Dynasty, Dong Zhongshu elaborated his high regard of Confucianism and his understanding of its religious dimensions. In his discussion of the Kingly Way that concerned the Mandate of Heaven, human nature and their relationship, he expressed his thoughts on “the transformation of the ancient and the modern” and “the different roles of heaven and men”. With regards to this question, Dong Zhongshu employed the answer of “observing the realm of interactions between Heaven and Man” to discuss about the most essential question of Confucianism, that is, the relationship between heaven and man, which actually was none other than the God-man relationship or the relationship of the transcendental and the worldly in the field of religion. Dong regarded this relationship as one of the inductance between heaven and man and of the Tao of heaven and the nature of man; if handled properly and coordinated with utmost efforts, it would consummate in the realm of heaven-man harmony. Ontologically speaking, “the great source of Tao is from Heaven, and if Heaven stays constant, Tao is constant too” (“Answer to my elevation to a worthy and proficient scholar”). To him, the Tao of Heaven was mirrored in the Mandate of Heaven, so people must comply with the Mandate of Heaven, do their proper duties and obey the decrees of Heaven. In Dong’s views, Heaven was related to men, in that “Heaven also had happiness and anger, sadness and joy, analogous to men; in harmonizing the two in categories, Heaven and men are one” (“The Meaning of Yin Yang” in *Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals*). And “of all that were born out of the essences of heaven and earth, man is the most treasurable and gets his mandate from Heaven” (“The Analogy of Heaven and Man” in *Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals*). Heaven has its own will and benevolence, by which “Heaven cares about the emperors and would prevent their improper doings”, so emperors should “emulate and inherit what Heaven does and rectify his own wrong doings accordingly”, whereby

¹⁹Ren (2010).

forming positive interactions. In fact, the relationship between Heaven and man, to Dong, had more moral connotations, as “those whose virtues are analogous to Heaven are called emperors, whom Heaven helps and regards as sons; that’s why they are called “Son of Heaven” (“Sandai gaizhi zhiwen” in *Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals*). “Heaven is the great sovereign of the myriads of gods, the most revered by emperors” (“ Jiaoyi ” in *Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals*), and for this correlation, the emperor must “ with every care serve the Sovereign of Heaven manifestly and righteously” and he “cannot neglect sacrifices to Heaven”, because “as an emperor who was absent in heavenly sacrifices, he could not expect any good from Heaven” (“Suburb Sacrifices” in *Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals*). Meanwhile, it must be pointed out that without the help and blessing from Heaven, the ruler-ship could not last long. In such discussions of “the analogy of heaven and man” and “man as a copy of Heaven”, Dong had mystified and moralized Heaven, so that emperors would be in awe of the Mandate of Heaven, employ “righteousness” as the “beginning of the Kingly Way”, exhaust the “kingly duties”, and must rule according to the Tao, for “though emperors have the title of reforming but they have no substantial capacity to change the Tao.” Dong wanted to urge the emperors to “enact the Tao”, pointing out that “the symbolic resonances between heaven and man are the Way of both the ancient and the modern” and that “the Tao is what is aptly applied to the path of ruler-ship, and benevolence, righteousness, rituals and music are all its tools”, which expresses the idea that “the Tao is the path to harmonious world governance; benevolence, righteousness, rituals and music are vehicles or tools that carry the great Tao.”²⁰ Dong Zhong’s arguments played a critical role in the outstanding of Confucianism and the formation of the Confucian religion, as seen in “promoting and manifesting Confucius, excluding the thoughts of the hundred schools, appointing officials specially in charge of schools, and selecting the talented ones as well as the filial and upright ones were all initiated by Dong Zhongshu” (“Dong Zhongshu” in *History of the Han Dynasty*).

Zhu Xi put forth the Confucian “Daotong” (orthodox tradition of the way), outlining the development clues of the core of the Chinese traditional culture. He coined the word “Daotong” in his “Prelude” to *Commentary on The Doctrine of the Mean*. This lineage of the Confucian “daotong” could be traced to the holy gods of Shennong and Fuxing in the high antiquity, including Fuxi, Shennong, the Yellow Emperor, Yao, Shun, Tang, Emperor Wenwang of the Zhou Dynasty, Confucius, Mencius, until the ancestral heroes and sages with virtues in the legendary tradition as instructed by Zhou Dunyi, Zhang Zai, Cheng Yi, Cheng Hao and Zhu Xi in terms of the “Tao of saints and sages”, constituting a spiritual continuity. The innovation of Zhu Xi lies in his mixing the ideas of man’s heart and the heart of Tao in the Pre- Confucian classic “Counsels of the Great Yu” in *The Book of Documents*, creating the 16-character principle of “The mind of man is restless,

²⁰Li (1999).

prone (to err); its affinity to what is right is small. Be discriminating, be uniform (in the pursuit of what is right), that you may sincerely hold fast the Mean”, thereby initiating the ideological system of the Neo-Confucian Orthodox tradition of the Song and Ming Dynasties. Here, Zhu Xi clearly proposed the idea of “Daotong”, arguing that “Why was *The Doctrine of the Mean* written? Because its author Master Zi Si feared that the orthodox tradition might be lost in transmission. Since the holy gods became sovereigns in the high antiquity, there had been a long tradition of ‘Daotong.’” (“Prelude” to *Commentary on The Doctrine of the Mean* in *Annotations to the Four Books*) In this sense, Zhu Xi came to be the epoch-making person in the history of Confucian thought, since “after Mencius, Masters Zhou, Cheng, and Zhang continued his vanishing tradition, until Zhu Xi started to write monographs on it” (“Zhu Xi” in *The History of Song Dynasty*). In his concerns with the “Tao of the sages and worthies”, as well as the dimension of political philosophy, Zhu Xi termed the Tao of the three generations of sages in the dynasties of Xia, Shang and Zhou as “the Kingly Way”, aiming to distinguish it with the later corrupted politics of “hegemonic Way”, so as to express his fond reminiscences of the ancient sages and his yearning for the social ideals: “the ancient sages probed their sincere hearts to comply with the principles of Heaven so that the world came to be their subject, which reflected the Kingly Way; the later gentlemen, though not in such high positions, possessed their virtues. Thus, the application of it could be to assistant the emperors, and the non-application of it could be counted as the Kingly Learning, with Confucius and Mencius being proper examples.” (Volume 51 of *The Thematic Discourses of Master Zhu*)

Reflecting upon the development of Confucian ideological history, Zhu Xi said, “although Zi Gong did not get the ‘daotong’, what he knew was not less than people today” (Six of *To Lu Zijing*, Volume 36 of *Zhu Wengong’s Essay Collections*). “If it is enough to follow ‘truthfulness and sincerity in words and honor and politeness in actions’, then since the Han and Tang dynasties, how could there have been no such people who had not obtained the tradition of ‘daotong’? Such people could of course be there.” (Volume 90 of *The Thematic Discourses of Master Zhu*) Since Confucius and Mencius, the “daotong” had been hidden in the spiritual continuity of Confucianism, yet it was only latent and non-manifest until Zhu Xi, who rendered it manifest, making it the core concepts of Confucianism that attracted most of people’s attention.

Even though Zhu was the first to combine the uses of “Dao” and “Tong”, the theory of “Daotong” was not initiated by him, but by the Tang Dynasty Confucian scholar Han Yu. “The second reformation of Confucianism, though starting in the Song Dynasty, could be traced to the earlier Dynasty of Tang, when Han Yu promoted Great Learning and replaced the Buddhist Dharma tradition with the Confucian tradition of “Daotong”.²¹ Han Yu pointed out clearly that in the Confucian tradition there had inherently been a consistent Tao that was different from the Tao of Buddhism and Taoism. Regarding this point, he emphasized

²¹Ren (2010).

“what I mean by Tao is different from the Tao of Buddhism and Taoism.” (“The Origin of Tao” in Volume 11 of *The Complete Works of Han Changli*) In fact, there had been since China’s ancient times the idea of “the Tao of Heaven”, which was thought to be originated with the Yellow Emperor, or the “the Tao of the Sages”. “In the ancient times, there had been evils of various kinds, and then came the sages, who, as sovereigns and teachers, taught them Tao of harmonious co-existence and mutual nourishment” (“The Origin of Tao”). In ancient times, this *xinfa* (central way of the heart) of the Heavenly Tao was only transmitted by heart, yet after over 2000 years of transmission by heart, only the *xinfa* was left and the heart transmission was absent. In Han Yu’s understanding, this ancient tradition had branched from Lao Zi, as the two ideological systems of later China, or the differentiation of Buddhist and Taoist ideologies. Seen from the Confucian transmission of the Tao, its *xinfa* of the Heavenly Tao connected Yao, Shun, Tang, Emperor Wen Wang, Emperor Wu Wang, Duke of Zhou, and Lao Zi to form the Confucian School at the time of Confucius, but when the tradition was passed down to Zi Si and Mencius, the ancient ideals were not manifest as before, with only the *Xinfa* left. Correspondingly, the Taoist transmission of the Tao also was connected with Yao, Shun, Tang, Emperor Wen Wang, Emperor Wu Wang, Duke of Zhou, and Lao Zi, but when the Taoist School of Thought was formed at the time of Zhuang Zi, the ancient heart transmission of the Tao was also lost, never to be regained. Taoism had rendered religious the ideology of Lao Zi, resulting in its slight treatment by Han Yu, who looked down upon the Taoist religion and was indifferent to the Lao Zi tradition due to his repulsive attitudes to religions in general. Originally, parallel to the “Daotong” of Confucianism and Buddhism, the Buddhist teachings in China were called “Fatong” or the Dharma orthodox, which had its own systematic expression. Han Yu’s attitude to Daotong was actually inspired by Buddhism, but in order to promote Confucianism and contain Buddhism, he emulated the Buddhist Fatong tradition to put forth the Confucian Daotong pedigree in accordance with the conception of continuing the position of Mencius, believing that this was “the religion of the Sages; thus, this tradition was in distinction and opposition to the Buddhist Fatong, as evidenced in “this is what I mean by Tao, which is different from the Tao of Buddhism and Taoism.” (“The Origin of Tao”) In Han Yu’s conception of the Confucian Tao, “universal love is Ren, proper actions is Yi, Tao is being as it is, and self-satisfaction without resorting the outside is De. Ren and Yi are set concepts, while Tao and De are empty positions.... All that we regard as Tao and De are words that accord with Ren and Yi.” (“The Origin of Tao”) Obviously, “Tao” refers to the “benevolence, righteousness and virtues” at the core of the Confucian thought, echoing its worldly engagement here. The historical development of the Confucian Tao is summarized as “Yao passed down the Tao to Shun, Shun to Yu, Yu to Tang, Tang to King Wen, King Wu and Duke of Zhou, King Wen, King Wu and Duke of Zhou to Confucius, and Confucius to Meng Ke. After the death of Meng Ke, the Tao was not passed own any more; Xun Zi and Yang Zhu chose some aspects of the Tao, yet failed to choose its essence; therefore, they could not explain or express it in details.” (“The Origin of Tao”) This ancient tradition was broken because Mencius, Xun Zi and

Yang Zhu could not continue it, so today's Confucians had to string it up again. What Han Yu referred to here as the Confucian lineage of the Tao was what was later termed "Daotong" by Zhu Xi. Yet later the Song Confucianists negated the position of Han Yu in the tradition of "Daotong" and scarcely mentioned it, which, on the contrary, all the more reinforced Zhu Xi's position and significance in expounding the "Daotong" and forming its continuity.

Though the concept of "Daotong" was put forth by Han Yu only in the Tang Dynasty, it had long been the unswerving ideology of Confucianism. Confucius and his school compiled the *Five Classics* and transmitted the *Four Books*, forming a connecting link in making "my doctrine that of an all-pervading unity", and molding the Chinese "Daotong". In the period of the convergent three teachings of Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism, the three all had discussions of "Tao". When the Confucian scholars were pondering the relationship between itself and the other two schools, they believed that the "Daotong" played a very important role of self consciousness and self identity. Within the Confucian School, the demarcations among divisions were made according to "Daotong"; outside Confucianism, it could be used to distinguish the three schools of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism, explaining that it was not the same Tao as upheld by Buddhism and Taoism. Therefore, it should be made clear that "Daotong" was not only the inner spring of development for Confucianism, but also a limit to the undisciplined development of it. If "Daotong" is understood in terms of "Dao" and "Tong", the former concerns the logical aspect and the latter the historical development. The "Daotong" revolved around Confucius, forming the 5000-year continuity of the Chinese ideology and culture. In this sense, at the core of the Chinese culture can be found both the theoretical system of "Dao" and the historical inheritance and continuity of "Tong". People have employed "Dao" to "explore the different roles of heaven and man" and "Tong" to "understand the change from antiquity down to the present". A glimpse of the mysteries of the Chinese culture will reveal that the "Daotong" has been all the while recurring in the Chinese subconscious.

The Confucian "Daotong" encompasses basically the consciousness of traditional Chinese culture, in sum, the consciousnesses of identity, orthodox and *hongdao* (promulgating the Tao). In this way, it lays a theoretical foundation and provides a cultural model for the super-stable development of the Chinese society and the state of great unity. These consciousnesses are still preserved in the contemporary Chinese culture as the collective unconscious of the Chinese people. So it can be said that China is still in her bones a society with Confucian traditions; as the saying goes, "heaven stays constant, so does the Tao." Therefore, the examination and criticism of the Confucian religion and the Confucian School includes the examination and criticism of the Chinese society itself. The "dereligionization" of Confucianism was to some extent due to the absence of its *xinchuan* (transmission by heart) and the inadequacy of the philosophical explanation of its *xinfa* (the methodology of heart); the result was the formation of the Confucian *Xinxue* (Study of the Heart) and the lessening of its religious vigor, which was especially manifest in the *Lixue* (Study of Principle) of the Song and Ming dynasties; however, the inner essence of the Chinese religions is still preserved and the basic

concepts in religious understanding still exist. Traced from the roots, the Confucian “Daotong” should better be explained in terms of the philosophy of religion. The “Dao” is the key word in understanding the mysteries of Chinese culture, and it is full of connotations of ultimate reality in religions.

The Confucian *Xinxue* (School of Mind) was systematized with Lu Xiangshan, who believed that “*liangzhi* (innate knowledge) and *liangneng* (innate ability) are all in me, and that the heavenly principle and human principle are in my mind/heart, since “the universe is my heart and my heart is the universe”, with different approaches reaching the same conclusion as the Western Subjective Idealism: “Being is being perceived”. Later on, Wang Yangming carried on this theory, believing that “the mind/heart is the principle, and outside of the mind/heart there are no things” (Part One of *The Record of Teaching and Practicing*), promoting the seeking of the Principle within one’s mind/heart, and believing that the “Principle is in the mind/heart; he even thought that “my perspicacious awareness is the lord of heaven, earth, ghosts and gods”, from which one can “realize the innate knowledge of the good” and practice “Unity of knowledge and action”. When things were going from bad to worse like rivers running down incessantly and people’s hearts were not as pure as in the good old days, and when “Daotong” was not manifested and promoted in the society, the Confucianists started self reflections, emphasizing the innate awareness of goodness and the self pursuit of virtues. Reviewing the history of the Confucian religion, the *Xinxue* had led Classical Confucianism to its climactic development, and the rich ideological deposits of Wang Yangming still deserve to be explored today. Due to the contributions of Zhu Xi and Wang Yangming at the intersection of Song and Ming dynasties, there was the honorable title of “Confucius, Mencius, Zhu and Wang”.

The Confucian religious thought and theories showed a weakened development after the Song and Ming dynasties, but the Confucian “Daotong” concept continued even during the Qing Dynasty and the Republican Era. Emperor Kang Xi ever said, “the sages and worthies, granted by Heaven, acted as sovereigns and teachers. The “Daotong” for all ages is what the the stability and unity of all ages depends on. Since Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, King Wen, and King Wu, there had been Confucius, Zeng Zi, Zi Si and Mencius; since *The Book of Change*, *The Book of Documents*, *The Book of Poetry*, and *The Spring and Autumn Annals*, there had been the *Analects*, *Great Learning*, *Book of Centrality and Equilibrium* (or *Doctrine of the Mean*), and *Mencius*; they were like the light from the sun and the moon, shining upon the skies and mountains; like the flows of rivers running on the surface of the earth. What a splendid view!” (“Prelude” to *Daily teaching and Explication of the Four Classics* by H. H. Kang Xi) Some scholars in the academic arena emphasized “the self rule through the Tao of Confucius, Mencius, Han Yu, Ouyang Xiu, the Cheng brothers and Zhu Xi”. During the Republican Era, in order to show the government authority and its correlation with the Chinese “Daotong”, Sun Yat-sen said, “China had a ‘Daotong’, which had been continued uninterruptedly from Yao, Shun, Yun, Tang, King Wen, King Wu, Duke of Zhou and Confucius. My thinking is based on this ‘Daotong’, and my revolution is to carry out this orthodox ideology and to spread and glorify it.” In the same vein, Chiang Kai-shek also declared that

“I inherited the revolutionary behests of the Founding Father, whose thoughts on virtues and political ideals were connected with Chinese people’s over 5000-year history of ‘Daotong’”.²² In addition, the tradition of “Daotong” was also popular among the Chinese folks.

The Chinese political development and the changing of political powers did not affect the continuity of the ideology of “Daotong”. However, with the weakening status of Confucianism in modern society as well as the disappearance of Confucianism as a religion, the concept of “Daotong” seems to have been in oblivion. This loss of cultural memory affects our cultural consciousness and awareness, influencing our cultural independence and improvement. Confucianism as a religion is no longer existent, but it has been until today a very controversial issue that the sacredness of the cultural spirit of religious Confucianism should be sealed with dust or criticized. This is the awkward situation we are in, and also a historical dilemma we must overcome. After the Xinhai (1911) Revolution, some attempts were made to revive Neo-Confucianism, but they did not have much social impact. Even the contemporary development of Neo-Confucianism is hardly satisfying. There have been four stages of Neo-Confucian development: (1) represented by Liang Suming, Xiong Shili, Zhang Junli, Feng Youlan, etc., it was characterized by continuing the Confucian “Daotong” and reviving Confucianism, particularly its school of mind and nature; (2) represented by Tang Junyi, Mou Zongsan, Xu Fuguan, Fang Dongmei, Qian Mu, etc., who had been in contact with the western culture, it aimed to bridge eastern and western cultures with Confucianism as the principal part; (3) represented by Tu Weiming, Liu Xianshu, Cheng Zhongying, etc., who had backgrounds in Hongkong, Taiwan and Macao, it tended to be an overseas Confucianism, or one with an obvious tone of “westernization”; (4) this stage refers to the development of Neo-Confucianism after the Open and Reform in China’s mainland, with various representatives and orientations, yet almost impossible to form a combined force in influencing contemporary China: some of them advocated the transition from the Confucianism of mind and nature to a political one, negating the religious nature of it, attempting to initiate a new school of benevolence that catered to the contemporary socio-politics, and believing that Confucianism and the contemporary Chinese mainstream consciousness will be “mutually beneficial if in harmony, and mutually detrimental if in opposition”; some tried their best to seek the reform and revival of Confucianism and regard promoting education and propagating *guoxue* (“traditional Chinese learning”) as their duties, thus facilitating the development of contemporary Confucius academies and the reading of classics at the grassroots level.

Whether Confucianism has religious qualities and whether it is a religion are issues critical in understanding the Chinese religions and religiosities. The Confucian spirit has deeply permeated the Chinese temperament and disposition, still nourishing and influencing people imperceptibly. If the religiosity of

²²Based on Chapter Six of Wang Sheng, *Leadership and the Nation* (Li Ming Cultural Enterprise Co., Ltd., 1976). There are also arguments against this view.

Confucianism is accepted, then it can be said that most Chinese have religious disposition or are influenced religiously; yet if we say Confucianism is not a religion at all, then most Chinese are fundamentally unrelated to religion, or China is a country that has little religious awareness, or even as some may argue, China had not had any native religion before the entry of foreign religions like Buddhism. Therefore, there should be cogent and reliable analysis of the nature of Confucianism or religions in general. But the arguments and analyses about the religiosity of Confucianism at the same time reveal the fact that the mainstream Chinese values are not far way from religions, or at least there are a lot of similarities and affinities. And even from the standpoint of negating Confucianism as a religion, regarding Confucianism, which is “not a religion”, as religious and the many complexities and entanglements in analyzing and differentiating Confucianism and religions, would inevitably lead to the conclusion that there is no unbridgeable gap between Confucianism and religions. Nonetheless, the official forms were not the only way in which the ancient Chinese religions existed; they had a parallel development in both folk and official forms. Some even argue that the real Confucian religion in the Chinese society was not the official Confucianism, but the grassroots Confucian religion or folk religion as a result of “resorting to the folk traditions with loss of propriety”, hence more closely affiliated to the Chinese society. The kaleidoscopic nature of the Chinese religions makes it hard to acquire for then a precise official or folk identity in the society, and even the Confucian religion was a multifarious one of both official and folk aspects. Similarly, the tradition of “revering heaven and following ancestors” in ancient Chinese religions was also continued in the two divergent historical routes of official and folk religions. Although both of the poles adhered to the tradition of “revering heaven and following ancestors”, the official side, represented by the imperial power, would seem to pay more attention to revering heaven, and the folk side, represented by clans and families, would center more on sacrificing to ancestors. Mou Zongjian and others would prefer to use the term “patriarchal traditional religion” instead of the Confucian religion in view of the mixed official and folk qualities, its diffusive or constructive aspects, and its complex relationship with the Chinese patriarchal society. He thought this patriarchal traditional religion “refers to the traditional religion based on practices of the gods worship and ancestor worship, originating from the three dynasties of Xia, Shang and Zhou and increasingly consolidated later on. It had the basic attributes of the other religions, that is, the religious ideas, sentiments and sacrificial activities, yet without the independent organizations; it only had the different hierarchical organizations to assume diverse religious functions. The imperial family represented the Son of Heaven to give sacrifices to the Heavenly gods, while the clans and families sacrificed to ancestors, led by the heads of the clans or families. The traditions of “revering heaven and following ancestors” and of “paying special attention to the funeral rites of the deceased family elders and commemorating them when they were long gone” are the basic ideological and emotional requirements for the Chinese. This close combination of religions and the hierarchies and ideologies of the feudal patriarchalism would also serve to consolidate the patriarchal institutions... It continued uninterruptedly till the end of the

Qing Dynasty.” Whether termed “the Confucian religion” or qualified as “patriarchal traditional religion”, it reflects the mainstream or main vein of the religions in traditional China; that is, in the history of ancient China, there indeed was “an orthodox religion that was accepted by all walks of life and extended continuously for thousands of years”.

3.3 Chinese Taoism

Taoism, as a native Chinese religion, originated from the ancient Chinese witchcraft, necromancy of the Qin and Han dynasties, and the philosophical thought of Lao Zi and Zhuang Zi. It is a religion that developed and circulated in China. Of the five major religions of China, Taoism is the only native Chinese religion, closely linked to the Chinese people. Lu Xun said, “the root of China lies all in Taoism”, which reveals the significance of Taoism to Chinese society and its all pervading and permeating influence on traditional Chinese culture. The concept of “Tao” is the most essential idea in the religious culture of China. The doctrines of religious Taoism were based on the philosophical Taoism of Lao Zi and Zhuang Zi, and the core of its faith is “Tao”, the origin and lord of the universe. The mysterious and ontological “Tao” in the pre-Qin Taoist ideology was revered as “the origin of heaven and earth” and “the mother of the myriad of things.” It was later mystified and deified; its founders foregrounded the connotations of the Tao, incorporated the Chinese ancient witchcraft and necromancy in the Taoist religious practice, and in this way formed the belief system of religious Taoism.

3.3.1 *Understanding the Tao*

Tao is the basic tenet and faith in religious Taoism. “What is Tao? The origin of nothingness, the root of creation, the source of gods, the fountainhead of heaven and earth, so vast that it has no boundaries, and so tiny that it has no interior”; “The Myriads of things were born out of it, the Five Elements were formed by it, the birth-giver had no polarities, and the formed has inadequacies. The life-giving and the forming of things stay constant of all times, which is what is called Tao.” (*On the Mysterious Principles* by Wu Yun) “The Great Tao has no form, generating heaven and earth; the Great Tao has no partiality, setting the sun and moon in motion; the Great Tao has no name, nourishing the myriads of things. I do not know its name, and I can only term it the Tao.” (*The Classic of Eternal Tranquility*) The Tao “produces them and does not claim them as its own; it does all, and yet does not boast of it; it presides over all, and yet does not control them.” (Chapter 10 of *Tao Te Ching*) Tao, though without a name, is the origin of the myriads of things, and the mysterious mechanism of the universe, as “The Dao produced One; One produced Two; Two produced Three; Three produced All things.” (Chapter 42 of

Tao Te Ching) The original understanding of Tao was directly related to the words “say” and “act”, connotating the words of the subject and the path of the object, and extended to mean the transcendental concepts of order, laws, rules, ideas, etc.; in this way, it expresses on a higher level the ultimate meaning of “The Tao that can be talked about is not the Eternal Tao”, hence the blurry, abstract and mysterious understanding and perception of the metaphysical Tao.

In the tradition of high antiquity, the Chinese religions were understood as “faith in the Divine Tao”, and this is a religious understanding of the metaphysical and sacred meaning of Tao. *The Book of Change* had long since argued about “observing the the divine Tao of Heaven” and “in accordance with the divine Tao, the sages laid down their teaching”, upon which was based the explanation of “What Heaven has conferred is called The Nature; an accordance with this nature is called The Path of duty; the regulation of this path is called Instruction.” And once the “Ru” “is not to be termed religion,” it was deemed as “the constant Tao under heaven”. In this tradition, “Shen” and “Tao” are in a composite terminology.

The Tao as the Divine Tao was actually embodied in the “Heavenly Tao”, “Earthly Tao” and “Tao of Man”. *The Book of Change* says, “There are in it the way of heaven, the way of man, and the way of earth”; “With this view they exhibited (in them) the way of heaven, calling (the lines) yin and yang; the way of earth, calling (them) the weak (or soft) and the strong (or hard); and the way of men, under the names of benevolence and righteousness.” The concepts of heaven, earth and man in traditional Chinese thinking are actually connected through “Tao”, so in the traditional Chinese ideology and culture, Tao has both the metaphysical sense of ultimate reality, and the inherent law of the myriads of things; understanding it in a mysterious and holy sense would make it a most essential religious concept. Therefore it can be said that the traditional three teachings of Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism could unified in one with the Tao, which forms the basic Chinese indigenous religious feature and symbol.

The Tao of Heaven is “the Tao of the Heavenly Sovereign”, but Tian, in Dong Zhongshu’s understanding, is “the Great Sovereign of the hundred gods” (“Jiaoyi” in *Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Classic*); “Tian is the ancestor of the myriads of things” (“Suming” in *Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Classic*). The understanding of the *Tiandao* (Tao of Heaven) includes the natural laws of the universe, the moral codes of the society, the political order of the nation, etc., to the extent of being all-inclusive. In the dimension of the origin of the universe, “The Tao of Heaven is the self-so” and “The Way of Heaven operates (unceasingly), and leaves no accumulation (of its influence) in any particular place, so that all things are brought to perfection by it” (*Zhuang Zi*). At the level of social order and ethics, there is the connection of the roles of heaven and earth, as in “the Tao means faithfulness to the people and reliance upon the divine” (“Sixth Year of Duke Huan” in *Zuo Zhuan*); “Benevolence, Righteousness, Etiquette, and Wisdom are the heavenly Tao”; “the gentleman adheres to faithfulness, and the subjects respectfulness; faithfulness, reliability, sincerity and respectfulness are followed by all, both high and low, (which denotes) the Tao of Heaven” (“22nd Year of Duke Xiang” in *Zuo Zhuan*); “the Tao of Heaven rewards the good and punishes the evil”

(“Discourses of Zhou” in *Discourse of the States*)”; “The way of Heaven is to bless the good, and make the bad miserable.” (“Announcement of Tang” in *The Book of Documents*) The Tao of Earth and Man echoes that of Heaven, as in “Therefore, sincerity is the way of Heaven. To think how to be sincere is the way of man” (“Li Lou I” of *Mencius*); “The human world is full of diversities, yet laws and rules are everywhere and at every time” (“Li shu” of *The Record of the Great Historian*); “(In the distinctions of the mourning) for the kindred who are the nearest, the honoured ones to whom honour is paid, the elders who are venerated for their age, and as the different tributes to males and females; there are seen the greatest manifestations of the course which is right for men.” (“Sang Fu Xiao Ji” in *Book of Rites*) Since the religious character of Confucianism is indistinct, its essential concept *Li* is conceived as social order, and *Ren* is interpreted in terms of inter-personal ethics and public values, so the ideology of the Tao did not have a prominent position in the theoretical system of Confucianism.

The Tao in the Taoist religion is based on what Lao Zi termed as “the convergence between heaven and man”, and the mystery and truth of religion can be found in “observing the Tao of heaven, and following heaven’s actions” (Part One of *The Yellow Emperor’s Scripture of Concealed Accord*). The convergence between heaven and man could be understood as the incarnation, and the Tao is inherent and invisible in the myriads of things, playing the formless yet determinant role. In understanding the Tao, Lao Zi put forth the ideas of “It might appear to have been before God” and “as if it were the Honored Ancestor of all things” in explicating the pre-existence and creativity of the Tao: “There was something undefined and complete, coming into existence before Heaven and Earth. How still it was and formless, standing alone, and undergoing no change, reaching everywhere and in no danger (of being exhausted)! It may be regarded as the Mother of all things. I do not know its name, and I give it the designation of the Dao (the Way or Course).” (Chapter 25 of the *Tao Te Ching*) Tao is “the nameless” acting as the beginning of heaven and earth, “having of all things the most honored place”, and the “the enduring and unchanging Tao” that cannot be spoken of.

In the religious Taoist beliefs, Tao, to some extent, is understood as the personified God with wills and appearance; the Three Purities are regarded as the incarnations of the Tao, the formal manifestation of the absolute “One”, as in “the One, when dispersed of its form, becomes the Qi, and when congealed in form, becomes The Grand Supreme Elderly Lord” (*Xiang’er Commentary on the Lao Zi*). In addition, other core concepts of religious Taoism include *De* (virtues), which signifies the actualization and subjectification of the Tao, that is, gaining the Tao in cognition, experience, and practice; in other words, *De* refers to the manifestations of the nature of Tao in the natural, social, worldly, and practical realms, or “the Tao manifested in me is called De” and “those who got the words of *De* are called the ones who got the fruits of Tao”. If Tao is said to express the transcendental, metaphysical, abstract and objective, then *De* unfolds effects of the inner, formal, concrete, and subjective. So Tao and *De* have inherent correlations and are in a dialectic relationship, as in “Tao gives birth to all things. And Te (virtue) nurtures them. Matter shapes them. The natural environment matures them. Therefore, all

things abide by Tao and honor Te. Although Tao deserves reverence and Te deserves honor, They are not demanded by decree, But is a result of the Nature Way.”(Chapter 51 of the *Tao Te Ching*) .

3.3.2 *The Origin of Religious Taoism*

The Taoist religion started from the ideas of the Yellow Emperor and Lao Zi, the former being the humanistic ancestor of the Huaxia people and the latter the ideological pioneer of the Chinese spirit who wrote the *Tao Te Ching*; Confucius had even inquired about the Tao with Lao Zi, from which is seen the long standing of the Chinese civilization and the continuity of the descendants of the Yellow Emperor and Emperor Yandi. Zhuang Zi of the Warring States Period inherited and developed the ideas of Lao Zi, hence the expression “the School of Lao-Zhuang”. The Pre-Qin Taoism became the Han Taoism after the transition of the Huang-Lao Taoism of the two Han Dynasties, completing the change from a philosophical school to a religious school. The earliest form of the Taoist religion is the “Huang-Lao Tao”, the Huang of which refers to the Yellow Emperor and the Lao Lao Zi, that is, a religion formed in the name of thoughts of the Yellow Emperor and Lao Zi. The Huang-Lao School used to be a political and philosophical trend, not a religion; and the Taoist School was originally one of the Hundred Schools, as a philosophical trend differing from the later Taoist religion, yet the two was obviously connected to some extent in the fountainhead of ideas. In the early years of the Eastern Han Dynasty, Emperor Ying of Chu “preferred the School of Huang-Lao, sacrificing and fasting together with the Buddha” (“Emperor ying of Chu” in *The History of Latter Han Dynasty*); “during the reign of Yanxi (158–167), Emperor Huandi practiced the Huang-Lao Taoism, demolishing houses into sacrificial places” (“Wang Huan” in *The History of Latter Han Dynasty*). Later on, the Huang-Lao Temple and Buddha Temple were set up in the palace, and Lao Zi was worshiped, thus making the Huang-Lao Tao acquire its religious form. Taoism becoming a religion was related to the entry of Buddhism to China. Taoism, receiving influence from Buddhism, started to form the organized Taoist religion. Unlike the other religions, the development of the Taoist religion could be likened to the merging of countless streams into a flowing river, that is, from pluralism to unity, from diffusion to cohesion. The various Chinese folk traditions and religions used to be co-constructed, integrated and thus closely connected. This enabled Taoism to incorporate folk religions, and it may function possibly in the future to reintegrate the folk religions to some extent, forming the Chinese style development of religions characterized by the “Comprehensive Taoism”. In this way, “the good old way could be adhered to” and “the life with great Tao” could be actualized, thus assisting the moral instruction in contemporary social life and the universal promotion of the Chinese cultural spirit.

During the reign of Emperor Shundi of the Eastern Han Dynasty (125–144), Zhang Ling (Zhang Daoling), a recluse of Heming Mountain in the Dayi County of Sichuan Province, called himself the Celestial Master, revered Lao Zi as the founder of his religion, and regarded the *Five Thousand Character Classic* (*Tao Te Ching*) as the major scripture. He later set up straw houses for proselytization, healed sick people, and started the religious organization through wine offering rituals, thus forming the religious Taoism; because those who wanted to join the group had to hand in five pecks of grains, it was therefore called the Way of Five Pecks of Grains. And Zhang Ling declared that he had been granted the title of “Celestial Master” and the “Tao of Orthodox Oneness Covenant of Authority” by Lao Zi, so his religious group was also called the Way of Celestial Masters. Later on, during the reign (167–189) of Emperor Lingdi of the Eastern Han Dynasty, Zhang Jiao from Julu called himself “the Great Sagely Teacher”, proposed the doctrine of “subduing the chaotic society and achieving great peace”, with the Huang-Lao Tao as the foundation and the *Taipingqinglingshu* (*Book of Pure Commands of the Supreme Peace*) as the main scripture, thus creating the “Way of Great Peace”. The initiation of the two Taoist religious schools marked the birth of Taoism as a religion.

After the formation of the Taoist religion, there appeared the religious doctrines different from the Taoist philosophy, such as the Way of Celestial Masters regarding Tao as a personified deity, declaring Lao Zi as the incarnation of Tao with the title of The Grand Supreme Elderly Lord. It also required its believers to adhere to precepts and cultivated skills of immortality, so that they could “uphold the tenets of Taoism, accumulate good deeds for merits, accumulate essence for godliness, and eventually achieve immortality” (*Xiang'er Commentary on the Lao Zi*). Moreover, the active religious organizations had their own political demands, for instance, The Way of Great Peace promoting its political doctrine of “Great Peace of Yellow Heaven” and declaring “The Azure Sky is already dead; the Yellow Sky will soon rise. When the year is *Jiazi*, there will be prosperity under heaven!” In this vein, the Yellow Scarf Rebellion was initiated to overthrow rule of Han Dynasty, representing a famous peasant uprising in a religious form in the history of China.

3.3.3 *The Development of the Taoist Religion*

During the Han and Wei dynasties to the Jin, there appeared the Way of Geshi or the Sect of the Gold Pill of Immortality, and Ge Hong, a key figure of this sect wrote the *Inner Chapters of the Master Who Embraced Innocence*, delineating the necromantic methods of shouyi (maintaining the one), xingqi (revolving the qi), bigu (abstaining from eating cereals), daoyin (guiding or leading), fangzhong (sexual alchemy), peiyao (Taoist prescription) and liandan (Taoist alchemy). He studies the ancient classics on alchemy, wrote alchemical prescriptions, contributing the development of ancient Chinese chemistry and the study of health and medicine. During the Southern and Northern Dynasties, the Way of the Five Pecks of Grains made a transition from developing at the folk level to the upper class

nobilities. The Taoist monk Kou Qianzhi of Northern Wei revised the doctrines of the Way of the Five Pecks of Grains by adding the tenets of Confucian ritual ethics and improving the cultivation methods of taking immortality pills and alchemy, molding it into the New Way of Celestial Masters. The reform of Kou Qianzhi was recognized by Emperor Taiwu of Northern Wei, who went to the Platform of the Celestial Masters for accepting the Taoist talisman, and the Taoist religion was officially recognized for the first time. The Northern Dynasty Taoist religion was historically called Northern Way of Celestial Masters, maintaining its official status for over one 100 years, until the reign of Emperor Xiangwang of the Northern Qi (AD 548),²³ when it lost its official identity.

Lu Xiujing, a Taoist monk of the Southern Dynasty, compiled the Taoist classics under the support of Emperor Songmingdi, improved the Zhaijiao Rituals, examined the *Numinous Treasure Scripture*, advanced the Numinous Treasure rituals, making himself the leading master of the School of Numinous Treasure, with the “Taoist religion flourishing under him”. Tao Hongjing, a Taoist monk of the Qi and Liang periods in the Southern Dynasties, promoted the development of the School of Supreme Purity, according to the Supreme Purity Scripture instructed under the name of Madam Wei (or Wei Huacun), a priestess of the Way of Celestial Masters, by Yang Xi of the Eastern Jin. Tao Hongjing declared to have been a recluse in Huayang, cultivated the Taoist way for over 40 years, and initiated the Maoshan Taoist Temple and the Taoist Mysterious Arena of Great Purity with the support of Emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty. In the Sui and Tang dynasties, the School of Supreme Purity had developed into the largest Taoist sect. Lu Xiujing and Tao Hongjing had reformed the Way of the Five Pecks of Grains to form the Southern Way of Celestial Masters. Southern Way of Celestial Masters was mainly composed of the Supreme Purity School, Maoshan Sect and the School of Numinous Treasures that came into being during the Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern dynasties. The Supreme Purity School, in terms of its continuity of beliefs, deemed itself to be founded by Madam Wei of the Eastern Jin Dynasty; actually it was spread by Yang Xi, Xu Mi, Xu Yu, etc., and flourished under Tao Hongjing. This school was mainly concerned with visualization of spirit (cunshen) and ingestion of breath (fuqi), assisted by sutra chanting and merit accumulation; its aim was to ascend to the heaven of “supreme purity” after the realization of the Tao. The Maoshan Sect was founded by Tao Hongjing of the Southern Dynasties, and the name of the school came from the fact that he cultivated the Tao and built the Taoist temple on Mount Maoshan, and at the same time revered the True Sovereign of

²³The name of Emperor Wenxiang of Northern Qi was Gao Cheng (521-549), with courtesy name Zihui, the son of Gao Huan, the minister with high authority in the dynasties of Northern Wei and Eastern Wei. He began his court duties at the age of only 15. After the death of Gao Huan, Gao Cheng defeated the rebellious general Hou Jing, and controled the ruling class of Eastern Wei for a short period of time, preparing for the setting up of the dynasty of Northern Wei, only to be assassinated by his food servant at the eve of accepting the Wei Emperor-ship. Since Gao Xiang laid the foundation for the Northern Qi, he was posthumously granted the title of Emperor Wenxiang.

Sanmao as the ancestral patriarch. This line's main scripture was the *Scripture of Supreme Purity*, with the minor classics being the *Scripture of Numinous Treasures* and the *Scripture of Three Sovereigns*; it adhered to the major practices of contemplating the gods, chanting the scriptures, gathering merits, and summoning the ghosts and spirits through talismans and spells, with minor practices such as abstaining from cereals, guiding or leading, Zhaijiao rituals, and alchemy. The School of Numinous Treasures was a Taoist sect that revered the pedigree of gods listed in the *Scripture of Numinous Treasures*; it became widespread in the Southern Dynasties, with the revision, addition and ritualization led by Lu Xiujing.

In addition, between the Wei and Jin dynasties, The Way of the Watch-out Tower or The Louguandao was founded. Legend has it that the Watch-out Tower at the northern side of Zhongnan Mountain in Zhouzhi County of Shanxi Province was originally the abode of Yin Xi (Guan Yin), a senior official of the Western Zhou Dynasty, who enjoyed living in straw abodes and observing the stars, thus the name Watch-out Tower. Yin Xi asked Lao Zi to write the Five-Thousand-Character *Tao Te Ching* when the latter passed by the Hangu Pass, and Yin was thus karmically related to the religious Taoism. In the Wei and Jin dynasties, Liang Kan, a Taoist monk from Jingzhao of Guanzhong, came to the Watch-out Tower to learn the Tao, and declared that he had mastered the way of being invisible by refining breath and the strategy of reverting the elixir with water and stone. He later became a recluse in Zhongnan Mountain, and ascended to heaven after attaining the Tao. His disciple Wang Jia inherited his teachings, founded the Watch-Tower Taoist Group, which later developed into temple Taoism and became a large sect in later period of the Northern Dynasties.

At the beginning of the Tang Dynasty, Taoism was revered as the chief of the three teachings. Emperor Li Shimin and his father, making use of the name Li, which happened to be Lao Zi's surname, revered Lao Zi as the ancestor of the Li family, supported the Taoist religion, and gained political advantages by his accordance with the name of the Son of Heaven and his divinely granted right. Later, Emperor Ming of Tang (Emperor Xuanzong) granted the titles "Sagely Ancestor Emperor of the Mysterious Origin" and "Great Sage Ancestor and Great Heavenly Emperor of the Mysterious Origin of the Golden Palace of the Great Lofty Dao" to The Grand Supreme Elderly Lord. Emperor Xuanzong of Tang Dynasty also promoted the Taoist religion, having ever annotated Taoist classics such as the *Tao Te Ching* and generously treated Taoist masters. During the Five Dynasties at the end of the Tang Dynasty, the Taoist Inner Alchemy was very popular. Besides its cultivation of inner form and spirit together with external elixir taking, it also incorporated elements of Confucian studies of the *Book of Change* and the Chan Buddhist techniques, generating inner alchemical practices different from before. In this period, Taoist sects thrived and masters were numerous; Zhong Liquan and Lv Dongbin were among the most influential, helping to form the Golden Elixir Sect of Zhong and Lv. Du Guangting, a Taoist monk at the end of the Tang Dynasty, went to be a recluse in Qingcheng Mountain, combining the developments of the Supreme Purity Sect and the Way of the Celestial Masters. In the Sui and Tang dynasties, the Supreme Purity Sect, Watch-out Tower Sect and the

Way of the Celestial Masters flourished, becoming big schools of Taoism. The Way of the Celestial Masters became orthodox, represented by the families of Celestial Master Zhang in Longhu Mountain in Jiangxi province, contributing to the basic frame of the Orthodox Oneness Sect. At this time, Nanchang City of Jiangxi province also witnessed the forming of the Filial Piety Sect, the fountainhead for the Pure Brightness Sect of the Song and Ming Dynasties. The Song Dynasty succeeded the tradition of supporting religious Taoism. Emperor Taizong of the Song Dynasty sent emissaries to Zhongnan Mountain to build the Taoist Temple of Great Peace, and summoned the Taoist monk Zhang Shouzheng to assume court duties and initiate the Ritual Offering to the Cosmos. Emperor Zhenzong of Song Dynasty ever declared that there used to be an ancestral Taoist Master “Sagely Ancestor Zhao Xuanlang”, who had the revered title of “Great Emperor and Heavenly Lord, Controller of Destinies and Protector of Life of the Sage Patriarch’s Highest Numinosity and of the Great Dao’s Nine Heavens”. Emperor Huizong of the Song Dynasty resorted to the “dream of heavenly gods” to assume imperial authorities as Emperor, Patriarch and Sovereign of Dao, meanwhile setting Taoist official ranks according to the court official levels. Zhang Boduan, a Northern Song Dynasty scholar of Taoism, wrote the *On Realizing Perfection* to expound the doctrines of Inner Alchemy and its ways of cultivation, and was revered as “the ancestor of Alchemical Scriptures of all times” and the founder of the Purple Yang Sect; later the Southern Sect of the School of Golden Elixir that centered on Inner Alchemy came into being. The later transmission of this sect was known for Bai Yuchan, who wrote many monographs, famous for the Sect of Pure Cultivation. Inspired by this sect, Liu Yongnian, a Southern Song Dynasty Taoist monk, developed the Inner Alchemy sect that advocated the co-cultivation of men and women.

During the Five Dynasties and the beginning of Song Dynasty, one major development of the Taoist religion was the rising of the School of Inner Alchemy represented by Chen Tuan. Chen was well versed in the hundred schools of classics and histories, and was able to fuse the three teachings of Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism. He was skilled in inner tranquility practices such as Embryonic Breathing by Ingesting Vital Breath, abstaining from cereals, and guiding or leading, mastering cosmology, geography, and medicine. He had been perennially a recluse in Wudang Mountain, declining official ranks, and having the officially granted titles of “Master Xiyi (Infinitesimal Subtlety)” and “Master White Clouds”. His alchemical skills emphasized spiritual nature and life-fate cultivated together, Taoist following of the self-so, inner alchemy to nourish life, and purifying thoughts and emptying breath; he held that the Taoist cultivation should start from “emptying the heart to attain the great nothingness”, regulating the breath to enter tranquility, and motions guided by a pacified heart; the Great Wuji (primordial boundlessness) could be attained in the order of refining the vital essence and turning it into qi, refining the qi into shen (spirit), and refining the shen to return to nothingness. Chen Tuan was also the ideological pioneer of the unity of three teachings in the Song Dynasty, inspiring the forming of the School of Principle. His Diagram of Wuji was later developed into the Taiji Diagram by Zhou Dunyi; and his Pre-Heaven Diagram was developed into the system of images and numbers by

Shao Yong, constituting the important theoretical construct of the School of Principle in the Song Dynasty.

The Taoist religion during the Song and Yuan dynasties underwent further reform and development; the three old talisman schools of Orthodox Oneness, Supreme Purity and Numinous Treasures were in the lineage of the Way of Celestial Masters formed in the Han, Wei and Southern and Northern dynasties, and out of the innovations came the new talisman schools of Southern Sect of Golden Elixir, Heavenly Heart, Divine Heavens, Pristine Subtlety, and Pure Brightness. Orthodox Oneness was based on the Way of Celestial Masters, considered the oldest form of the Taoist religion, for its founder could be traced to Master Zhang Ling. It was said that his fourth generation grandson Zhang Sheng moved to Longhu Mountain in Jiang Xi province in the Western Jin Dynasty, regarding the Longhu Mountain lineage as the center of the Way of Celestial Masters. In the reign of Emperor Huizong of the Song Dynasty, the Temple of Supreme Purity was elevated to “Highest Clarity and Orthodox Oneness Temple”; in the reign of Emperor Lizong of the Song, the sect of Orthodox Oneness was granted the important position of guiding all talisman schools of Taoism. In the Yuan Dynasty, the 36th Celestial Master Zhang Zongyan was granted the title of Perfect Man by Kublai Khan, Emperor Shizu of the Yuan Dynasty, thus initiating the tradition of granting the title of Perfect Man to generations of Celestial Masters in the Yuan Dynasty. In the 14th year (1277) of the reign of Emperor Shizu of Yuan was initiated the tradition of granting the title of Celestial Master to the descendants of Zhang Ling. Later, the 38th Celestial Master Zhang Yucai was conferred the title of “Founder of the Orthodox Oneness” and the 39th Celestial Master Zhang Sicheng was granted “Founder with Lofty Virtue to Assist the Primordial”. The Orthodox Oneness Sect’s main scripture was *Scripture of Orthodox Oneness*. Monks of this sect could get married, emphasized not the methods of cultivation, but the strategies of worshiping ghosts and spirits, drawing talismans and chanting spells, exorcism, praying for blessings and the warding off of evils. It was an important representative of the School of Talismans. The Sect of Supreme Purity also witnessed further development between the Song and Yuan dynasties; the Sect of Supreme Purity at Moushan was particularly favored by the rulers of both the Song and Yuan dynasties, with masters granted with imperial titles. In the Northern Song, in Gezao Mountain of Qingjiang, Jinagxi province, Numinous Treasure Sect developed a branched called Gezao Sect, thus forming the coexistence of the three big talisman schools of Longhu Mountain, Maoshan Mountain and Gezao Mountain. In addition, Numinous Treasure Sect in the Song and Yuan dynasties had a branch of Donghua, which was incorporated into the Longhu Mountain Orthodox Oneness at the end of the Yuan Dynasty. In the new talisman schools of Taoism, the Heavenly Heart Sect was based on the transmission and practice of “the orthodox way of the heavenly heart”; Divine Heaven sect had the central doctrine of promoting its Five Thunder Magic of the Divine Heaven; the Clarity and Subtlety Sect declared that their Tao was originated from Primeval Heavenly Lord of Pristine Subtlety; the Pure Brightness Sect originated from the Filial Piety Sect, regarded the Eastern Jin Dynasty monk Xu Jin as the patriarch, and operated a new

talisman school called Secret Skills of the Pure Brightness, and meanwhile followed the traditional Confucian ethical virtues of loyalty, filial piety, clean duty and prudence, hence it being called the Confucian-Taoist “Pure Brightness Tradition of Loyalty and Piety”.

After the demise of the Song Dynasty, the Taoist religion broke out of the lineage of the Way of Heavenly Masters to have new developments in the north, and there appeared the Sect of Great Oneness, Sect of True Greatness and Complete Perfection Sect. The Sect of Great Oneness was founded by Xiao Baozhen in his hometown of Weizhou (the present Ji County of Henan Province) at the beginning of the Jin Dynasty, named after its transmission of “Triple Origin Magic Registers of the Supreme oneness”; this sect advocated the cultivation of the body through the teachings of Lao Zi and the contribution to the society by talisman and witchcraft, requesting the celibacy of the Taoist monks and surnaming the successor of the lineage Xiao. Yet this Sect did not have a long history of transmission, and after the seventh Patriarch Xiao tianyou, it was incorporated into the Sect of Orthodox Oneness. The Great Way was also termed “the Way of Truth and Greatness”, founded by Liu Deren from Cangzhou of Hebei Province; it stipulated nine tenets based on the *Tao Te Ching*, practicing the healing of illnesses without injections and medicine, but through the silent prayers to heaven; the Sect advocated quietness and passivity, less selfishness and fewer desires, and being benevolent, frugal and non-competitive, stressing the celibacy of the Taoist monks, termination of desires and forbearance of hardships, the benefit of the people and the loving of nature, instead of teaching “ascension to heaven through alchemical skills”, nor did it stress “immortality skills”, talisman or begging and mendicity. At the end of the Yuan Dynasty, this sect was incorporated into Complete Perfection Sect and others.

Complete Perfection Sect was founded by Wang Chongyang, a native of Xianyang in Shanxi Province between the dynasties of Jin and Yuan. Initially it developed in Shandong province, and Wang’s seven disciples, Ma Yu, Tan Chuduan, Liu Chuxuan, Qiu Chuji, Wang Chuyi, Hao Datong and Sun Bu’er were called the “Seven Perfected Ones”. The Complete Perfection Sect advocated the unity of the three teachings of Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism and the equality of them, emphasizing the “harmonious unity of the three teachings”, that is “the Confucian gates and the Taoist doorways are converged in the Way; the three teachings were originally of one wind from the same patriarch”, “though three teachings, the Tao is one only”, and “Heaven admits no two Ways and the sage has not two hearts”. In its practice, it rejected external alchemy and skills of exorcism and talisman, advocated inner alchemy and spiritual nature and *Xingming Shuangxiu* or spiritual-nature and life-fate (physical health and vitality) cultivated together, and emphasized “insight into the true mind and nature”. Complete Perfection Sect adhered to asceticism, forbearance and settling in poverty and low status; its monks had to be ordained and practice in temples, and were not allowed to get married, thus creating the effect of “startling strange acts and touching exotic deeds”. In the fusion of Buddhism and Confucianism, the Sect regarded as its main classics the Taoist *Tao Te Ching*, Buddhist *Prajnaparamita Heart Sutra* and the Confucian *Classic of Filial Piety*. After the death of Wang Chongyang, his

well-known disciple Qiu Chuji succeeded him and contributed to the prosperity of the Sect. Emperor Taizu of the Yuan Dynasty ever invited Qiu Chuji to visit him at his palace, and Qiu spent 3 years in traveling west to fulfill the invitation with his 18 disciples. When Genghis Khan asked about the ways of governing a country and the secrets of immortality, Qiu answered with “revering heaven and loving the people as the root” and “a pure heart and few desires as the necessity”. Genghis Khan was greatly satisfied with the answer and called Qiu Chuji the “Immortal Elder”. After the death of the Seven Perfected Ones, the Complete Perfection Sect branched into 7 sub-sects, namely, Encountering Immortals, Dragon Gate, Southern Nothingness, Following the Mountain, Mount Yu, Mount Hua, and Clarity and Tranquility, of which the Dragon Gate under Qiu Chuji was the most influential. After the founding of the Yuan Dynasty, the Complete Perfection Sect spread south to merge with the Southern Sect of Golden Elixir; Wang Chongyang’s sect was thus called the Northern Sect of Complete perfection, the Seven Perfected Ones became “Seven perfected Ones of the Northern Sect”, and the “Seven perfected Ones of the Southern Sect” included Zhang Boduan, Shi Tai, Xue Daoguang, Chen Nan, Bai Yuchan, Liu Yongnian, and Peng Mo; the two sects both revered Imperial Sovereign of the Eastern Essence, Zhong Liqian, Lv Dongbin, Liu Haichan and Wang Chongyang as the Five Patriarchs of the Complete Perfection Sect. After the Yuan Dynasty, the Complete Perfection Sect and the Orthodox Oneness became the two great divisions of religious Taoism and developed most expansively.

During the Ming and Qing dynasties, the Taoist religion went from prosperity to decline. Orthodox Oneness Sect was still the most influential during the Ming Dynasty, but because the monks of higher ranks took to the corrupted practice and were thus attacked by the Confucian court officials, its position was severely degraded. At the beginning of Ming Dynasty, Zhang Sanfeng went to Wudang Mountain to cultivate the Tao as a recluse, starting the Wudang Sect related to the Orthodox Oneness. Zhang Sanfeng advocated the union of the three religions, believing that “the practice of the Way is called instruction, so the sages of the three teachings all based their instructions on this Tao”, and “Tao is the common name of Shakyamuni, Confucius and Lao Zi”. His disciple Liu Biyun founded the Wudang Benshan Sect, which inherited this emphasis on the union of the three teachings, regarding as the proselytizing principle “the green mount sees the sun and the moon / accordance with the Tao is to follow the Self-so / the insight into Nature and Principle is to be obtained by an understanding of the mysterious / Pristine Subtlety is from the primordial Supreme Origin”. Zhang Sanfeng also founded the Inner School Boxing of the Wudang Tao Sect, initiating the Wudang lineage of martial arts. The Qing Dynasty chose Confucianism as its governing ideology, and since Emperor Qianlong, Buddhism and Taoism were no longer highly regarded, with the Taoist religion declining more manifestly. The Complete Perfection Sect had already gone from prosperity to decline in the Ming Dynasty; except the forming of the Laoshan Sect (or Gold Mountain Sect) by Sun Qingxuan, the fourth generation disciple of the Dragon Gate Sect, with the support of the Laoshan Taoist religion, all other Taoist divisions witnessed weakness in development. In the reign of Jiajing Era of Emperor Shizong of the Ming Dynasty, Sun Xuanqing went to White

Cloud Temple in Beijing, and was granted the title of “Perfect Man Ziyang”. At this time, Dragon Gate Sect had spread to Qingcheng Mountain and other places. Wang Changyue, a Taoist monk of Dragon Gate Sect, completed his life as a recluse in Songshan and took temporary residence at White Cloud Temple in Beijing, where he accepted many Confucians of the Ming Dynasty into his Sect, contributing to the revival of the Dragon Gate Sect for some time. Later on, Wang Changyue’s disciples went to Jiangnan to spread the Tao, giving rise to quite a few new branches, such as Supreme Subtlety Sub-Sect at Husuguan in Suzhou City, Celestial Pillar Sub-Sect at Jinzhupu in Yuhang City, Guanshan Sub-Sect at Suzhou City, Pure Yang Yunchao Sub-Sect at Jingai Mountain in Huzhou, etc. Other disciples of the Dragon Gate also started some new sub-sects, including Maoshan Sub-Sect, Qixia Golden Drum Cave Sub-Sect at Hangzhou City, Dao Adoring Temple Sub-Sect at Tiantai Mountain in Zhejiang Province, etc. In addition, at the beginning of Qing Dynasty, the Dragon Gate Sect developed to some extent all over China, and the Taoist Mountains and temples of some scale included Eight Treasured Cloud Light Cave at Tiesha Mountain in Benxi City of Liaoning Province, the Supreme Clarity Temple in Shenyang City, Liaoning Province, Qiyun Mountain in Jinxian County, Gansu Province, West Mountain in Nanchang City, Jiangxi Province, Ancient Temple of Emptiness at Luofu Mountain in Guangdong Province, etc. In the reign of Emperor Kangxi, Chen Qingjue, a Taoist monk of the Dragon Gate Sect, went to cultivate the Tao at the Celestial Master Cave at Qingcheng Mountain from Wudang Mountain, arrived at Black Sheep Temple at Qingcheng Mountain in Chengdu City to build the Two Immortals Temple for cultivating tranquility, and was granted the title “Perfect Man of the Azure Grotto” and the tablet with the inscriptions “Elixir Platform of the Azure Grotto”, thus initiating the Elixir Platform of the Azure Grotto branch of the Dragon Gate Sect. In addition, the Dragon Gate Heart Lineage of West India was founded at the Jizu Mountain in Yunnan Province. The Republican Era witnessed the development of the Taoist religion to some extent, with the Taoist temples numbered over ten thousand, and monks over fifty thousand. After the Xinhai Revolution, some Taoist monks who were the adherents of the former Qing dynasty arrived in Hongkong, contributing to the development of the Taoist religion there. In 1949, Zhang Enpu, the 63rd Celestial Master of Longhu Mountain, arrived in Taiwan, and founded the Taiwan Taoist Association in 1950, and started the The Daoist Association of the Republic of China in 1967. After the death of Zhang Enpu in 1969, his nephew Zhang Yuanxian succeeded him as the 64th Celestial Master.

After the founding of the People’s Republic of China, China Taoist Association was founded in 1957, with Yue Chongdai as the chairperson, to be succeeded by Cheng Yingning in 1961. Since the Reform and Opening, the Third China Taoist Delegates Convention was held in 1980; later on, Li Yuhang, Fu Tianyuan, Min Zhiting and Ren Farong were elected Chairperson successively. In 1989, the transmission of precepts of the Complete Perfection Sect was revived in White Cloud Temple in Beijing; in 1990, China Taoist institute was founded in Beijing; in 1995, Transmission of Registers of the Orthodox Oneness Sect resumed at Longhu Mountain in Jiangxi Province. As the native Chinese religion, the Taoist religion

widened its world horizon in the 21st century, accelerating its globalization steps. From April 21-28, 2007 in Xi'an and Hongkong was held The International Forum on the *Tao Te Ching*, with the theme of "the harmonious world communicated with Tao", with over 300 participants from 17 countries. Twenty thousand people participated in the chanting of the *Tao Te Ching* on April 21, 2007 in Hongkong; in 2011, the International Taoist Forum was founded, and the The International Forum on the *Tao Te Ching* in 2007 was regarded as the First International Taoist Forum; The Second International Taoist Forum was held at the Southern Mount Hengshan in Hunan Province from October 23-25, 2011, with the theme of "Revering the Tao, Valuing the Virtues, and Co-existing Harmoniously", with more than 2000 participants from over 30 countries and regions; from Nov. 25 - 26, 2011, The Third International Taoist Forum was held at Longhu Mountain in Yingtan, Jiangxi Province, with the theme of "Promoting the Tao and establishing virtues, aiding the world and benefiting others," bringing together 2000 representatives and guests from the Taoist world in 27 countries and regions. The contemporary image of the Chinese Taoist religion had a positive international influence, manifesting the developmental trend of "converging the world with Tao".

3.3.4 Taoist Classics and Festivals

The *Tao Te Ching* is the major Taoist classic, and those that contain early Taoist ideas include *Zhuang Zi*, *Huainan Zi*, *Mo Zi*, *Master Sun's Art of War*, *Inner Canon of the Yellow Emperor*, etc.; the classics during the formative period of the Taoist religion include *Classic of Great Peace*, *He Shanggong's Annotations on Lao Zi*, *Xiang'er's Commentary on Lao Zi*, *Three Ways Unified and Normalized of the Book of Change*, etc.; other classics that require compulsory reading include *Three-Cave Talismans*, *Mysterious Cave Talismans*, *Supreme Clarity Talismans*, *Book of the Jade Emperor*, *Book of Purity and Tranquility*, etc. The extant general collections include *The Zhengtong Taoist Cannon* (compiled under Emperor Zhengtong of the Ming Dynasty), *Supplementary Taoist Canon of the Wanli Period*, *Selections from the Daoist Canon*, etc. The term "Daozang" or the Daoist Canon, that is, the compilation of the Taoist classics, originated from the Tang Dynasty; the Daozang has a wide diversity in its content, including classics, commentaries and annotations, precepts, Talismans, as well as cultivation and refinement techniques of expiration and inspiration, embryonic breath, inward vision, Daoyin (Taoist Yoga of guiding and leading), abstaining from cereals, sexual alchemy, Inner Alchemy, External Alchemy, metals and minerals as alchemical medicine, etc. The *Zhengtong Taoist Cannon* compiled in the Ming Dynasty is in current use, and there is *The Supplementary Daoist Canon*, that is, *Supplementary Taoist Canon of the Wanli Period*. The religious rituals of Taoism include accepting Ritual Offering, prayers, chanting scriptures, litanies, etc.; the techniques of Taoist cultivation and practice are closely related to the Chinese chemistry, medicine and other types of experimental sciences. The Taoist sacrificial

rituals can be generally termed “Zhaijiao” (Ritual Fasts and Offerings); it is said that there are 27 forms of fasts and 42 rituals, including all Taoist ritual activities. Zhai originally means fast, purification, or the mental and physical preparation before the sacrificial rites, as in “fasts before praying to gods and ghosts” (“Summary of the Rules of Propriety Part 1” in *Book of Rites*) According to the Taoist religion, “zhai means tidiness, cleanness, and purity” (*Ultimate Supreme Perfection Rituals*); “zhai means equality, tidying the Three Karmas. Outwardly, there is no dust or dirt, and inwardly Pristine Emptiness should mark the five elements, so that the holy truth might descend, divinity may be reached, and the holy truth may fuse with the Tao”(Volume 37 of the *Yunji qiqian* or *Seven Lots from the Bookbag of the Clouds*) Jiao refers to the sacrificial rituals, as in “jiao refers to the offerings to be sacrificed to heaven, earth, and gods” (*The Orthodox Oneness Book of Rituals*); “ever since the end of the Han Dynasty, Zhang Ling practiced transformative instruction through the way of ghosts, there appeared the Taoist monks’ Zhaijiao. And during the Liang and Chen dynasties, it flourished in the world” (Fa Lin’s *On Distinguishing the Right from Wrong*). Although zhai is the purification fast and jiao the sacrifice to gods, in the Taoist rituals the two are always unified, combining to form the Taoist routine rituals. In the Taoist rituals are often found Fulu or Talisman magic, which originated in the Eastern Han Dynasty, with fu meaning pictographs and ideographs drawn on the paper, and lu the magic registers that record Heavenly Officials, Immortal names, and divine assistants, including talisman pictographs and spells, also called *fulu*. The two combine to constitute the basic elements of the Taoist religious rituals. There are two forms of the Taoist cultivation, the monastic and the lay practices. The monks of the Orthodox Oneness Sect can be married and have families, while the Complete Perfection Sect requires monks to be ordained and not to be married. Besides, there is also the division of *qian* and *kun* in the Taoist religion: the male monks belong to the category of *qiandao* (Tao of Heaven) and female monks *kundao* (Tao of Earth).

The Taoist festivals are directly related to its religious beliefs, with most of them celebrating the birth dates of the Taoist gods and patriarchs; the commemorative activities are composed of both the rituals and the folklore events, hence the atmosphere and the bustling excitement of temple fairs. The Taoist festivals are largely classified into the fast days of the Three Origins, taboo dates and the birth dates of patriarchs and gods. The fast days of the Three Origins are Higher Origin Feast Day (the Lantern Festival) on the fifteenth day of the first lunar month, Middle Origin Feast Day on the fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month, and the Middle Origin Feast Day on the fifteenth day of the tenth lunar month; taboo dates are divided into mingwu or manifest taboo dates (wù zǐ 、 wù yín 、 wù chén 、 wù wǔ 、 wù shēn 、 wù xū) and anwu or hidden taboo dates(the yin date of April, the shen date of August, etc.), with the stipulation of “on taboo dates no worshiping of the perfected ones”; traditionally, the commemoration dates of patriarchs and gods mainly include the birth date of the Jade Emperor on the ninth date of the first lunar month, that is, the jade Emperor revered by Taoists, whose birthday was traditionally ascribed to the ninth of the first lunar month of the Year Bingwu, on which date commemorative activities were held; the 15th date of the first lunar month is

the birth date of Celestial Master Zhang, the same date with the Higher Origin Festival; February 15 is the birthday of the Venerable Sovereign, that is the birth date of Lao Zi, the founder of the Taoist religion, since legend has it that Lao Zi was born on February 15, 1242 BC, hence the commemoration activities such as chanting the *Perfect Book of Dao and its Virtue*, as one of the rituals in the Taoist temples; March 3 is the birthday of Great Perfect Warrior Emperor and the birthday of Queen Mother of the West, hence the commemorative birthday banquet of peaches to entertain the gods and fairies; March 28 is the birthday of the Great Emperor of the Sacred Mountain of the East; April 14 is the birthday of Patriarch Lv, or Lv Dongbin, since according to legends, on April 14, 798 AD (the 14th year in the reign of Emperor Dezong of the Tang Dynasty), white swans descended from heaven and Dongbin was born, hence the Zhaijiao rituals for commemoration on this date; April 18 is the birthday of Great Emperor of Purple Subtlety; May 1 is the birthday of the Great South Pole Emperor of Longevity; May 13 is the birthday of the Imperial Sovereign Saint Guan; the day of summer solstice is the birthday of Heavenly Lord of the Numinous Treasure; the day of winter solstice is the birthday of the Primeval Lord of Heaven; and so on. The popular versions of the Taoist religious beliefs provide abundant materials for Chinese mythology, folk legends, literature and arts.

3.3.5 *Taoist Ideas and Culture*

The Taoist religion manifests strong ethnic features in the indigenous culture of China. It examines imperturbably the universe, the society and human life with the tranquil detachment of “The Tao [Way] follows the self-so”, bringing to Chinese culture the constancy and eternity of the “Tao that permeates all ages”. The Taoist “pure quietude and non-artificial action” and “freedom and non-attachment” are in antithesis to the Confucian “loyalty, consideration and central equilibrium” and “rule of virtue and benevolent government”; Taoist “abandoning benevolence and discarding righteousness” contrasts with the Confucian “rites and music; benevolence and righteousness”; moreover, the Taoists employ the three incarnations of the Tao, that is, the Taoist trinity of Primeval Lord of Heaven, Heavenly Lord of the Numinous Treasure and Heavenly Lord of Dao and its Virtue (Lao Zi, popularly known as The Aged Worthy of Heaven), to compete with Confucianism that “handed down the doctrines of Yao and Shun, as if they had been his ancestors, and elegantly displayed the regulations of Wen and Wu taking them as his model.” In this way, the distinguishing features are seen between the court school and the folk school in the Chinese Han culture, between the North and the South, the action and the non-action, and the worldly engaged and the detached. Therefore, when emphasizing the unified three teachings of ancient China, we should also pay attention to their differences, detecting such colorful diversities in contributing to the gorgeous brilliance of the Chinese ideology and culture.

The Taoist free wandering and transcendence express the unique romantic spirit of the Chinese culture. The Taoist religion, which originates from the philosophical Taoism, embodies a gentle and feminine culture marked by “The highest good is like that of water”, an ecological culture featuring “A genuine vision is derived from simplicity of life”, and a reclusive culture characterized by “the benefits of non-artificial action”. The Taoist religion pursues a natural realm of “the color of mountains, the rhythm of rivers, the style of immortals and the air of elegance”, expecting to escape the maddening crowds and live a reclusive life between heaven and the earth. When people are paying attention to the Taoist physical “techniques”, they are neglecting the metaphysical Tao, which is non other than the essence of the Taoist culture.

From the perspective of speculative philosophy, the Taoist dialectics is a negative one; in the five thousand characters of the *Tao Te Ching*, the word “bu” or “no” is the most often used, that is, over 200 times, and its synonyms of “wu” and “mo” also have a high frequency of usage. Facing the boundless universe, human beings cannot see through its mysteries and profound truths, only finding that “Loud is its sound, but never word it said; A semblance great, the shadow of a shade”, and perceiving the darkness and depth of the “The Dao which is hidden and has no name”, so what they can do is to remain silent and reverent, contemplate and meditate, treating the universe with modesty and speaking only when the self is emptied. Lao Zi’s cosmological outlook is “The Dao that can be trodden is not the enduring and unchanging Dao. The name that can be named is not the enduring and unchanging name. (Conceived of as) having no name, it is the Originator of heaven and earth; (conceived of as) having a name, it is the Mother of all things.” When observing the universe, “Always without desire we must be found, / If its deep mystery we would sound; / But if desire always within us be, / Its outer fringe is all that we shall see.” (Chapter 1 of *Tao Te Ching*) Here, regarding the boundless universe, we should view it holistically, perceive its subtleties, know its profound mysteries, treating it with “the nameless” and the wordless; meanwhile, as to the myriads of tangible things, we can study them microcosmically, detect their thingness, recognize their names, and clarify their mysteries. That Lao Zi employs the word “bu” to express the inexpressible is a wise act of doing what cannot be done.

From the perspective of political philosophy, the Taoists emphasize in terms of social relationships the wisdom and strategies that pursue interests and avoid risks; facing the complicated interstate and global competitions, Lao Zi holds that “shrinking from taking precedence of others, I can become a vessel of the highest honor.” (Chapter 67 of *Tao Te Ching*) Foolhardiness is not suitable for global competitions, and what is needed is to conceal one’s abilities and bide one’s time, to be able to form alliances and sow dissensions by maneuvering among various political groupings, and to get favorable opportunities beneficial to international relationships and development. In governing one’s country, a bold vision and a style is needed as “Governing a great state is like cooking small fish” (Chapter 60 of *Tao Te Ching*), that is, doing a difficult job with ease, governing by doing nothing that goes against nature, no extra disturbances, no fetters, granting people freedom, letting people rest and build up strength, for “I will do nothing (of purpose), and

the people will be transformed of themselves; I will be fond of keeping still, and the people will of themselves become correct. I will take no trouble about it, and the people will of themselves become rich; I will manifest no ambition, and the people will of themselves attain to the primitive simplicity"; in this way, "The Dao in its regular course does nothing (for the sake of doing it), and so there is nothing which it does not do" (Chapter 37 of *Tao Te Ching*), so that "its roots are deep and its flower stalks firm: - this is the way to secure that its enduring life shall long be seen." (Chapter 59 of *Tao Te Ching*) Such on-artificial governing through non-governing is best liked by the people, as in "How irresolute did those (earliest rulers) appear, showing (by their reticence) the importance which they set upon their words! Their work was done and their undertakings were successful, while the people all said, 'We are as we are, of ourselves!'" (Chapter 17 of *Tao Te Ching*)

From the philosophy of life, the Taoist religion advocates that happiness consists in contentment, that when the water ends, the cloud will rise, and that with a concession, you'll get room for your next step. Lao Zi said, "It is the way of Heaven not to strive, and yet it skilfully overcomes; not to speak, and yet it is skillful in (obtaining a reply); does not call, and yet men come to it of themselves" (Chapter 73 of *Tao Te Ching*); "When the work is done, and one's name is becoming distinguished, to withdraw into obscurity is the way of Heaven" (Chapter 9 of *Tao Te Ching*); and "with all the doing in the way of the sage he does not strive" (Chapter 81 of *Tao Te Ching*). We should be calm and detached when facing high official positions, riches, victories, and failures; we should adopt the attitudes of "Cold-eyed I survey the world beyond the seas", "let the tides ebb and flow", and "Never be pleased by external gains; never be saddened by personal losses"; Lao Zi says, "Who is content / Needs fear no shame. / Who knows to stop / Incurs no blame. / From danger free" (Chapter 44 of *Tao Te Ching*), and "Would selfish ends and many lusts eschew" (Chapter 19 of *Tao Te Ching*); in this way, we can remain unmoved either by gain or loss, and be not full of ourselves to maintain the Tao, so that "Who progress in it makes, seems drawing back" (Chapter 41 of *Tao Te Ching*) In fact, when we observe the exuberant world and reflect upon the diversities in life, it is not difficult to sense that "The highest perfection is like imperfection", "The greatest abundance seems meager", "What's most straight appears devious", "The greatest skill appears clumsiness" (Chapter 45 of *Tao Te Ching*), and the great wise man looks dull! So the detachment in life should be clear and transcendent as "Looked at, but cannot be seen - / That is called the Invisible (yi). / Listened to, but cannot be heard - / That is called the Inaudible (hsi). / Grasped at, but cannot be touched - / That is called the Intangible (wei)." (Chapter 14 of *Tao Te Ching*) When life is viewed in a cosmic angle, we find it is indeed of trifling importance and not worthy of high regard, as "Even Nature does not last long, / How much less should human beings?" (Chapter 23 of *Tao Te Ching*) Thus, we should sustain a cosmic lens and a universal mind.

From the angle of natural philosophy, the Taoist religion promotes "The Tao follows the self-so" (Chapter 25 of *Tao Te Ching*), believing that nature has its own inherent laws of development and that no artificial urge or interference is needed. Man can constantly detect the natural mysteries, but the operations of nature do no

depend on human wills, so what was deemed impossible in the past could well be possible today; and what was mythological in the high antiquity is now hard reality. And all this has always been hidden in nature, so the human discovery or invention is not something to brag about. What is at present impossible or inconceivable we should view with an open, observing, exploratory, and expectant mentality, and should not negate and oppress it so easily. Man should appreciate the masterpieces of nature, “Reveal thy simple self, / Embrace thy original nature,” (Chapter 19 of *Tao Te Ching*), experience the law of “Tao giving them birth, and Teh fostering them,” and witness the grandeur of “It gives them birth and does not own them, / Acts (helps) and does not appropriate them, / Is superior, and does not control them. / - This is the Mystic Virtue.” (Chapter 10 of *Tao Te Ching*) The natural Tao is the eternal Tao, as in “The Great Tao flows everywhere, / (Like a flood) it may go left or right. / The myriad things derive their life from it, / And it does not deny them. / When its work is accomplished, / It does not take possession. / It clothes and feeds the myriad things, / Yet does not claim them as its own. / Often (regarded) without mind or passion, / It may be considered small.” (Chapter 34 of *Tao Te Ching*) After the long time struggling and striving, human beings have begun to realize the natural significance of ecology and the importance of ecological protection, thus walking, though with difficulty, into an eco-friendly era. Though it is a bit too late to realize the Taoist ecological values, it can always be lessons to be warned of in the future.

Taoism favors water, as is said in Chapter 8 of the *Tao Te Ching*, “The best of men is like water; / Water benefits all things / And does not compete with them. / It dwells in (the lowly) places that all disdain -Wherein it comes near to the Tao.” A browse of human history reveals that the origin of civilizations and all religions invariably had close connections with water. People are accustomed to using water as a metaphor for history and human life, and we can also employ it to remember things that passed like the running river, namely human religions and the future of Chinese culture. German sinologist Richard Wilhelm classified Chinese culture into Yellow River Culture and Yangtze River Culture, or the Northern Culture and Southern Culture. The former was regarded as the mainstream culture, or the symbol of the northern culture, with the Yellow River was regarded as the Cradle of the Chinese culture. The northern culture is represented by Confucius, emphasizing rituals, orthodoxy, and order and the collective and embodying virility and strength. The culture of the Confucian Li and Ren is regarded as the dominant culture of China. The Southern culture is symbolized by the Yangtze River, represented by Lao Zi, featuring free wandering, detachment, and romance; its Tao as in “the Tao follows the self-so” embodies the feminine qualities of being ethereal, unaffected and transcendent, all symbolized by the water. Seen from the development of the Chinese agricultural culture, the Yellow River Valley was advancing toward dry-land farming, while the Yangtze River Valley preserved the agricultural culture of the irrigated rice fields, thus more indispensable from water. In view of the Confucian and Taoist schools, the Taoist religion and the Confucian religion could both be regarded as “philosophical religions”. If read philosophically, the Taoist religion can be termed “artistic philosophy” and the Confucian religion “political

philosophy”. Comparatively speaking, the Taoist religion has more freedom and detachment, and its river-like naturalness, romance and lightness of life aim at airiness and transcendence, with immortality as detachment and pursuit of liberation; the Confucian religion, on the other hand, endures humiliation for important tasks and sanctifies social life to show its dignity and duty, with sainthood as its duty and self sacrifice.

For a rather long time in the past, the Chinese have been paying more attention to the Yellow River culture, leading to the “Yellow River-center theory” and the lack of knowledge and adequate research about the Yangtze River culture, which has to be considered a pity. According to the new archaeological discoveries, the status of the Yangtze Rive culture has been officially recognized and its content has been explored time and again. The Taoist religion is the typical representative of the Yangtze Rive culture, its traces of development dotting extensively the Yangtze River valley. Du Guangting in his *Noble Mountains with Celestial Grotto and Blessed Field* listed 118 Taoist blessed fields and celestial grottos, 70% of which were in the Yangtze River valley. Bashu Culture plays an important role in the grand Yangtze River cultural region that consists of numerous layers of sub-cultures. The recent archaeological discoveries reveal that in Sanxingdui Museum and Jinsha Site were unfolded rich remains of sacrificial objects. It explains the advanced religions with complete rituals in the ancient Shu culture, which is so thrilling that all would desire to admire. So a special attention should be given to the culture of the upper reaches of the Yangtze River. In the 5000-year Chinese history, there are so many unexplained elements, and the Yangtze Rive culture, too, has left many unsolved mysteries, leaving much room for us to research and imagine. For instance, the Ancient Shu Civilization, represented by Sanxingdui, and the Sanxingdui-Jinsha Civilization, together with their historical connections and lineages to the ensuing cultures, all deserve our exploration and research, so as to manifest the cultural factors of the Yangtze River. In its later historical development, the Chinese religious Taoism had close connections with the Chuanshu culture. It is in Mt. Heming that Zhang Daoling founded the Way of Celestial Masters, and Mt. Qingcheng is where he promoted the Taoist teachings, contributing greatly to the orientation of Chinese culture. The Taoist religion permeated the Shu region, and exerted a tremendous impact on the Sichuan natives. Since the Three Kingdoms era, the capital status of Sun declined gradually, so the Sichuan people tended to be transcendental, free and unattached to the worldly. From the perspective of political culture, Chengdu was in the inland of China, seldom functioning as the political center of the country. This detached mentality was obviously influenced by the Taoist culture. In the western Christian cultural tradition, the unification of the state and the church had led the Catholic ideology to develop a “theological philosophy” in which the Catholic orthodoxy and authority was emphasized. In contrast, the graceful and detached Taoist religion might well have formulated its different “Taoist philosophy” that emphasized tranquility and naturalness, in correspondence to its religious “school of immortality”. In the systematic construct of philosophy, the Chinese philosophy is of a different type to its western counterpart. Mt. Qingcheng, as the birth place of the Taoist religion and

a sacred mountain of ancient Shu, has great historical and cultural significance. Besides, in the faith tradition of the Taoist religion was formulated the organic compound of the natural sceneries and cultural landscapes, that is, the “10 Big Celestial Grottos”, “36 Small Celestial Grottos”, and “72 Blessed Fields”, exerting an important influence on the promotion of Chinese religious culture and development of tourist culture. An adequate exploration of these resources should be combined with the relatively neglected or insufficient research on the Yangtze culture.

At present, the development of the Taoist religion has not been satisfying, its influence on Chinese cultural spirit is not great enough, and its social status of existence is also of a rather low level. Yet viewing it in the long run, we find the Taoist religion has plenty of room for development. The understanding of Taoism should not be confined to the traditionally narrow differentiation of the Taoist school and the Taoist religion; instead, there must be a concept of “Greater Taoist Religion”. In other words, in terms of the Chinese native religious consciousness and core spiritual values, the Taoist religion and the idea of “Tao” should be projected and promoted. “Tao” has its irreplaceable role in integrating Chinese religious values and providing religious signs and spiritual symbols in the Chinese culture. The Taoist religion has the most capacity of embodying and representing the native Chinese religious spirit of all the extant religions in China today. So, as the symbol of the basic Chinese religious spirit, the Taoist religion itself should walk on the path of the “Greater Taoist Religion”.

The “Greater Taoist Religion” can be viewed in a broader horizon. In fact, in the Confucian ideology and the ensuing Buddhist localization in China, “Tao” also played an important role. In the tradition of the three teachings, the integrating factor, as well as the all-pervading unity, was the Tao. Due to the blurry religious nature of Confucianism, its core concept “Li” was always understood as “social order” and “Ren” was understood in the dimension of “interpersonal ethics” or public virtues, so the “Tao” concept was not projected, hence the indivisibility of the Confucian “Daotong”. Confucianism, as the “constant Tao under heaven” which “cannot be termed instruction”, had its religiosity submerged. In China, since the “Buddhadharma” was not popularly deemed as the “supreme law”, Buddhism had to resort to the skillful means of “becoming popularized to realize its Tao” with the purpose of Sinicization, resulting in the transmutation of its “Fatong”. The Tao of Taoism was based on the connotation of Lao Zi’s “Tao bridging heaven and man”, with the religious mystery and original truth being “Observing the Way of Heaven, (and) holding to Heaven’s action” and the convergence of man and heaven being the “incarnation”. The concepts of “heaven, earth and man” in the traditional Chinese thinking were also linked by “Tao”, hence the saying of “they exhibited (in them) the way of heaven, calling (the lines) yin and yang; the way of earth, calling (them) the weak (or soft) and the strong (or hard); and the way of men, under the names of benevolence and righteousness” (*Book of Change*). Therefore, the three teachings of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism themselves could be “unified in one” in the Tao; thus, the concept of “The Greater Taoism” could be formulated, and the basic features and symbolism of native Chinese religions could

be constructed. It is usual and obvious to see the syncretistic Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism in the Chinese folk beliefs and practices.

So, “The Greater Taoism” can manifest the idiosyncratic and unique features of native Chinese religions, inspiring people to see in the composite “The Greater Taoism” the native connotations and real mysteries of the Chinese religions and to obtain the original expressions and embodiment. The construct and development of “The Greater Taoism” will mirror objectively and express properly the religious beliefs of most Chinese at the grassroots level; through it will be revealed the inherent and universal self-consciousness on the part of the Chinese religions. In addition, the believers of “The Greater Taoism” will account for a greater percentage in the Chinese populace. Therefore, the development of “The Greater Taoism” in the Chinese society has favorable temporal and social opportunities and the support from the people, exhibiting great potentials.

In the international religious dialogues, the Tao of the Taoist religion can be compared and discussed with the incarnated Logos in the Christian tradition. Besides the philosophical Tao, there is also the Tao of technology, and the Tao of living. The Taoist religion had natural links with science and technology. The dialogue of the East and The New Age Movement that sprang up in the 20th century West has been mainly through the medium of the Taoist religion. Capra’s *The Tao of Physics* argues about and employs the expression of the Tao, aiming to correlate the terms of modern physics with ancient religions. Despite the complicated arguments about the nature of this movement, it still merits our consideration and research about the propositions of the modern western scientists such as Joseph Needham, Yukawa Hideki, and Capra, who were inspired by and reflected about the Tao. The Chinese mainland scholar Dong Guangbi wrote the article “The Taoist Culture and the Flow Direction of the Evolution of the Contemporary World Culture”²⁴, representing the new insight into the Taoist ideology by the technological arena of today. The Taoist religion is full of imagination and marvels, elements necessary for technological innovations. Today’s world of the Internet needs imagination all the more, and there is greater scope of development for Taoism, which had contributed tremendously to science and technology in the past. The Taoist religion also exerted deep and extensive influences on architecture, music, drama and martial arts. Today, our Taoist art, Taoist martial arts, Taoist medicine, and the Taoist ways of nourishing life can go overseas to form the “China Wind” of “promoting the Tao” and to unfold the cultural deposits and wonders to the world. In this way, what an enterprising vigor and vision it will be to have, in the dimension of the religious realm, the Tao running across the world, the Tao bridging the world, and the Tao transforming the world! To put it bluntly, the Taoist religion and the Taoist culture it embodies should merit great attention today; there should be the realization that Tao is the core of the traditional Chinese cultural soft power and that Tao does constitute the essence of the ancient Chinese spirit. In the contemporary China that is in a new upsurge of seeking her cultural root and

²⁴Refer to *Research on the Dialectics of Nature*, Volume Nine, Issue 11, 1993.

fountainhead of her civilization, root seeking, Tao inquiring, and carrying on the heritage to pave the way for future should be an important mission in the revival of the Chinese culture.

3.4 Chinese Folk Religious Beliefs

The religious beliefs have been historically active in the Chinese folk society. With Zhuang Xu's reform of "the isolation of Heaven and Earth" and the retraction of authority given to the folk beliefs, the phenomena of "the mixture of gods and men" and "witches and astrologers in every family" were not fundamentally changed for the better; instead, in the grassroots level of the Chinese society were always seen the unchecked spreading of folk religions and the continuous development of temples of witchcraft. The kaleidoscopic panorama of the Chinese religions makes it necessary for us to note the existence and development of folk religious beliefs and their evolution in understanding the Chinese religious faiths. Folk religious beliefs refer to the various folk beliefs that circulated in the lower strata of the society, and were not recognized by the government; they usually existed in the form of secret organizations, spreading through secret underground means, and were thus regarded by the authorities as non-ritualistic sacrifices and non-ritualistic temple services, or even attacked as heresies, evil cults and superstitious sects. Nonetheless, some folk beliefs were to some extent and in some eras tolerated by the authorities, and operated openly without being banned, so the folk religious beliefs could not totally be categorized into the secret religions or secret folk religious associations.

The folk religious beliefs are the foundation of and fertile soil for the development of the Chinese religious spirit, constituting an important part of the Chinese spiritual life, and still existing lively in the grassroots sectors of the Chinese society. The first feature of the folk religions is acting as the resulting forms of the evolution and transformation of mainstreams religions, with roots in the major religions such as Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism, with some even rooted in the imported religions such as Manichaeism and Christianity; the second feature is its composite nature whereby different religions are mixed to form one entity, making it difficult to be separated from the original ones, and bearing similarities with all of them. In this way is formed the inclusiveness, openness and practicality of the Chinese folk religious beliefs, and we have to examine the Chinese religious faiths from the angle of holistic mistiness. Hence, some mainstream religions came into the lower strata of the society and were transformed qualitatively, no longer maintaining their original religious features, and becoming folk religious beliefs with hybrid and interpenetrating qualities; and the result is that they were no longer recognized by their religious origins. In addition, in the transmission history of religions, some religions were initially spreading as folk religions, only to be recognized by the authorities and the mainstream society later and become mainstream religions. For instance, the Taoist religion was at the beginning in the form of folk Taoism, with

complicated internal structures and a diversity of components. “Towards the end of the Han Dynasty began the organized religious Taoism. Neither the Way of Five Pecks of Grains by the three Zhang Celestial masters in Sichuan nor the the Way of Great Peace by the Zhang brothers in the north was tolerated by the rulers. They originated from the grassroots, circulated among the folks, became the center of the lower-strata faiths, and had to be banned and suppressed. ...In the ensuing two to three hundred years, the Taoist religion underwent reforms and reconstructions by intellectual elites, came to be followed by many lords, elites and various walks of nobilities, and gradually climbed up the social ladder, all the while manifesting its all inclusiveness and broad-mindedness. In the 600 years of the Tang and Song dynasties, the Taoist religion did serve the functions of an orthodox religion, becoming at one time the official theology. Yet even at that time, the main transmission of the Taoist religion was still among the folks. And the heresies of the Taoist religion gave rise to a series of new folk religious sects.”²⁵ In view of the history of Taoist evolution, the Taoist religion was interrelated in innumerable ways with folk religious beliefs; some folk religions, when suppressed by the authorities, went for shelter in the Taoist religion, and once the circumstances were favorable and the government was tolerant of them, they would immediately walk out of Taoism and declare their independence. Therefore, “The Greater Taoist Religion” intended to include these folk religious beliefs. Admittedly, Buddhism and the doubted Confucian religion also had close links to the folk religious beliefs, which should not be drastically differentiated. Buddhism, upon its first entry into China, had only a folk religious status, and only when recognized by the government did it become an orthodox Chinese religion; yet its transmission in China also led to numerous heterodox sects affiliated to Buddhism, which could only exist as folk religious practice.

Meanwhile, in the Confucian tradition was also found sub-branches entering the folk as a result of the “when rituals and etiquettes are lost, they can be found among the folks”; the Confucian ideas of divine intelligence and moral ethics were preserved in the folk religious Precious Scrolls and Moralistic Storybooks. This complicated historical evolution led to a blurry boundary between the mainstream religions affirmed by the government and the folk religious traditions. “Obviously, there is no unbridgeable gap between the orthodox religions and the folk religions; in terms of religious significance, they do not differ substantially.”²⁶

In connection with Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism, influenced by Manichaeism, Christianity and other imported religions, many folk religions and secret religious sects were long in circulation in ancient China, particularly in the Han populated areas; some even continued till today, forming one dominant feature of Chinese religions. The historical folk religious traditions included the Mahayana School of Maitreya in the Wei and Jin dynasties, Zoroastrianism (with Manichaeism as the major part, combined with Taoist and Buddhism religious

²⁵Ma (2005).

²⁶Ibid.

elements), Faith in Goddess Matsu in the Song Dynasty, the White Lotus Sect popular in the Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties (derived from the Buddhist White Lotus Lineage founded by Mao Ziyuan at the beginning of Southern Song Dynasty), the Luojiao with its main believers being the sailors in the business of water transport of grain between the Ming and Qing dynasties (founded by Luo Qing, also termed Non-action Sect, Enlightened-to-Emptiness Sect, and Luo Taoist Sect, whose doctrines were similar to the Southern Sect of Chan Buddhism), Hongyang Sect of the later Ming Dynasty (also called Red Sun Sect, Sun Promotion Sect, Chaotic Heaven Sect, or Yuandun Sect, mainly influenced by the Taoist religion), Three One Religion in the same era, and in the Ming and Qing dynasties Eastern Mahayana Sect (or Fragrance Smelling Sect), Western Mahayana Sect, Tea Sect, Yuandun (Perfect and Immediate Teaching) Sect, Perfection Sect (Great Harmony Sect), and Yellow heaven Sect (its branch in Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces called Immortality Sect), all influenced by Buddhism; in addition, there were in the Qing Dynasty the Eight-Trigrams Sect, (also called Heavenly Principle Sect, or White Sun Sect, with the ancient trigrams as its organizing principle), Liumen Sect, Green Sun Sect, Green Water Sect, Green lotus Sect, True Emptiness Sect (also known as Tao of Emptiness or the Great Tao of True Emptiness), God Worshipping Society, as well as the De (virtue) Sect, I-Kuan Tao, etc. that flourished in the Republican Era. These folk religions have typical local or professional features, with few imported and most of native origins; in the feudal era, they were always taken as rebellious banners against the feudal oppression, and quite a few have existed till today as cultural heritage.

3.4.1 *Mahayana Sect of Maitreya*

Mahayana Sect of Maitreya originated from the secularized belief in the Maitreya Buddha. Since the Eastern Jin Dynasty, the idea of the Pure Land of Maitreya had been used by folk shramanas who initiated rebellions for kingship; during the Northern Wei dynasty, Faqing, a monk from Jizhou, revised the doctrines of the Perfection of Wisdom School of Mahayana Buddhism, and founded the Mahayana Sect of Maitreya by calling upon the masses with the Descent of Maitreya. This Sect waged the rebellion in the name of terminating the devils, whose target also was at Buddhism, committing the atrocities of “destroying the temples, killing the monks and nuns, and burning the sutras and icons”. It did not die out after the suppression, and was revived in the Sui Dynasty; it organized the masses to rebel against the local governments and the powerful nobilities in the name of the Salvation through the Descent of Maitreya, continuing right into the Tang Dynasty. In the Song Dynasty, the Sect, in the name of “Incense Fair” and “Sutra Collection Society”, was mixed with the Manichean Sect, evolving into the Incense Army or the Red Scarf Army, with their slogans of “a righteous emperor has come to this world, and Maitreya Buddha has descended”. The later activities and development

of this Sect tended to be drear due to its dispersed condition, yet its ideas were still in circulation in the Ming and Qing dynasties.

The basic doctrine of the Mahayana Sect of Maitreya was the salvation theory of Maitreya; coming into being in the Southern and Northern Dynasties, it mirrored people's desires to be saved in a period of social upheavals. To the grassroots people, the turbulent era would engender ill fortunes and various devils, and only a savior like Maitreya could subjugate the devils and pacify the world, bringing in the peaceful society, that is, the theory of "the new Buddha coming to the world to rid off the old devils". In accordance with such public sentiments, the Sect proposed the salvational idea of "Three Buddhas Responding to the Three Kalpas (Epochs)", and classified the human history into three eras, to be governed by the Buddhas of the Three Worlds, that is, the Qingyang (Green Sun) Kalpa by the Dipamkara Buddha, the Hongyang (Red Sun) Kalpa by Shakyamuni Buddha, and the Baiyang (White Sun) Kalpa by Maitreya Buddha after his descent to the world. To this Sect, the chaos of the the society signaled a new phase of social development, and it strongly preached the idea of "the decline of the Shakyamuni Buddha and the governing of the world by Maitreya Buddha". At that time, Dingguang Buddha was regarded as the Buddha Dipamkara, and this understanding contributed to the sacralization of its theory of "Three Buddhas Responding to the Three Kalpas (Epochs)" and the religionization of its actions. According to the Sect's historical understanding, human history was divided into the past, the present and the future, respectively termed Qingyang Era, Hongyang Era and the Baiyang Era, each with a Buddha in charge. Obviously, such thoughts were correlated to or echoed the Taoist ideas of "Three Heavens" and "Three Sovereigns" in the society at the time. There was the popular Taoist "Three Heavens" of "Pure Subtlety Heaven, Yuyu Heaven and Dachi Heaven", the Taoist records of "Blue Deity, Red Deity and White Deity", and the Taoist belief of the Heavenly Lords being related to the three worlds, that is, the past world governed by "the Antique Primeval Lord of Heaven, the Present Jade Emperor Lord of Heaven, and the Future Heavenly Master of the Dawn of Jade of the Golden Door" (*The Seven Bamboo Tablets of the Cloudy Satchel*) Mahayana Sect of Maitreya projected their ideology of salvation by Maitreya with the then popular views of history and time, incorporating the Buddhist idea of Samsara to form its religious world view. The Sect's popular Precious Scrolls explained it as "Dipamkara Buddha, governing this religion, and meeting the precious Green Sun; Shakyamuni Buddha, governing the Red Sun, and discovering heaven and earth; Matreya Buddha, governing the White Sun, and settling heaven and earth. The Buddhas of the Three Worlds transform the three worlds with the Dharma and the Sangha; The Buddhas of the Three Worlds govern heaven and earth and in turn transform them" (*Precious Scroll of Tathagata's Key*). Besides, above The Buddhas of the Three Worlds is placed the supreme deity "Eternal Venerable Mother" by this folk religious faith, which asserted that the respective salvational descents of the Three Buddhas were arranged by her.²⁷

²⁷Refer to Ma (2005).

3.4.2 *The Faith in Ma Zu*

The Cult of Ma Zu, a popular religious faith among the fishermen in the Southeast coastal regions of China, revered Ma Zu as “Holy Heavenly Mother”, “Empress of Heaven”, “Heavenly Princess” or “Celestial Queen”. Ma Zu’s original name was Lin Mo, who was said to be the daughter of Lin Yuan, an Inspector of Songdu, Putian city, Zhejiang Province. Born on Meizhou Island, she was usually smart when young, and was taught “The True Magic of the Mysterious Subtlety” by a senior Taoist monk. After she got the “heavenly scrolls” from an old well, she was not only able to make prophecies about blessings and disasters, knowing the changes of time, but also cured people’s illness, which was recorded in favorable tales. She was unmarried, and later was missing due to her rescue of the fishermen endangered by the storms; according to legends, she was also said to have ascended to heaven in Meizhou, hence the transformation of her into a goddess who protected the fishermen, popularly known as “Grandmother Ma Zu”.

The Cult of Ma Zu came into being as early as the Song Dynasty, and a Ma Zu Temple was constructed in the 4th year of the reign of Yongxi (987) on Meizhou Island in the Northern Song Dynasty. Sacrificial activities thus started, and the Temple was given the title of the Ancestral Temple of Ma Zu. Legend has it that Ma Zu was always dressed in red and wandered freely everywhere, often appearing over the seas to save the fishermen and businessmen. She had been revered by coastal fishermen since the Song Dynasty, and was granted the imperial titles of “Madam Shunji” by Emperor Huizong of the Song, “Heavenly Consort and Protector of the Nation” by Emperor Shizu of the Yuan Dynasty, and “Goddess of the Blue Dawn” by Emperor Chongzhen of the Ming Dynasty; this cult was spreading along coastal areas and she was deemed as the deity that protected fishermen and water transportation. In the Qing Dynasty, Emperor Kangxi conferred her as “Heavenly Empress of Benevolence Who Manifests Miracles and Correspondences”, and the sacrificial rituals of her were also incorporated into the national ritual ceremonies.

The Cult of Ma Zu spread to Japan and Korea of East Asia, influencing even Southeast Asia. Its popularity mainly includes Fujian, Taiwan, Hongkong, Macao, etc. The Portuguese name for Macao refers to Ma Zu. When the Portuguese first landed on Macao near the Temple of Ma Ge (A-Ma Temple), they inquired about the name of the place, and got the answer “Ma Ge” from the natives, who thought they were asking about the name of the A-Ma Temple, hence the name of Macao in the Portuguese pronunciation as “Macao”. After conquering Taiwan, Zheng Chenggong changed the Dutch Christian church into the Temple of Ma Zu, termed by the natives as “Kitaima” (Mother of Taiwan). The Temple of Ma Zu was also called “Temple of the Heavenly Queen”. At present, the number of Ma Zu believers reaches two hundred million, and March the 23rd and September the ninth in the Chinese lunar calendar are regarded as the birthday and ascension day of Ma Zu.

3.4.3 *The White Lotus Society*

The White Lotus Society, active during the Song and Yuan dynasties, originated from the combination of the Pure Land Sect of Maitreya (Lotus Sect) and the Tiantai Sect. Called White Lotus Vegetable in the Southern Song Dynasty, it used to be the Pure Karma Society founded by Mao Ziyuan, a monk of Yanxiang Yuan, in Wujun, Jiangsu province; having been mixed with the Maitreya Sect and the Manichean Sect, it was mingled with many folk religions during the Ming and Qing dynasties.

In the early years of Shaoxing in the Southern Song Dynasty, Mao Ziyuan founded the White Lotus Sect, established the White Lotus Confession Hall, and required believers to “cultivate the pure karma together”. He compiled the *White Lotus Dawn Confessional Rituals*, and wrote the *Selected Essentials of Amitabha Buddha*, *Song of Enlightenment of One Hundred hearts through the Lotus Sutra*, *Anthology of Wind and Moon*, etc. He gave his disciples the four Dharma names of Pu (universal), Jue (enlightenment), Miao (Wonder) and Tao, asking them to “concentrate on chanting the name of Amitabha Buddha and be reborn together in the Pure Land”; meanwhile, male and female monks were allowed to practice together, thus contributing to the basic development of the White Lotus Sect.

In the Yuan Dynasty, the White Lotus Sect was flourishing for a time, second only to Buddhism and Taoism, unfolding the panorama of “another dimension of the Buddha Dharma being called the White Lotus Teaching, which, all the more flourishing after 1000 years, has now abodes for sacrificial rites for the Buddha all over the world” (*Records of Huishan Hall* by Wu Cheng). At this time, the White Lotus Sect, supported by the White Lotus Confessional halls, had many of them developed into family businesses, and some White Lotus monks treated the Confessional halls as their home, where they had both wives and children. Its doctrines succeeded those of Mao Ziyuan and were expounded and expanded by Pu Du, whose ten volumes of *Precious Mirror of the Lotus Lineage of Mount Lu* became the classics of the Sect. In the Yuan Dynasty, the White Lotus members “still regarded as their chief canon *The Infinite Life Sutra* and the rest of “the three Sutras and One Treatise”, deemed the Buddha Mindfulness Samadhi as their main duty, and affirmed the eventual rebirth in the Pure Land as their ultimate purpose.”²⁸ White Lotus Confessional Halls, designed after the Pure Land temples, formed at one time a certain scale. However, at the beginning of the Yuan Dynasty, the White Lotus Sect was deemed a heretic cult by the authorities, and later on banned as “heretic tactics to deviate the righteous”. In May of the year Dayuan (1308), the Yuan authorities decreed that “the White Lotus Society be banned, its temples be destroyed, and its followers resume their civilian citizenship” (“Records of Wu Zong” in Volume 22 of *The History of the Yuan Dynasty*). With the help of the famous monk Pu Du, the White Lotus was resumed during the reign of Emperor Renzong, and later in history, it was banned and resumed alternatively,

²⁸Ma (2005).

experiencing a fate with a lot of miseries. At the end of the Yuan Dynasty, when the society was in a chaotic state, it mingled with Manichaeism and participated in the political activities of the Incense Societies. During the Ming and Qing Dynasties, the White Lotus Society was still banned, and its entities gradually were blended with various folk religions and eventually dispersed.

3.4.4 *Luojiao (Luo Teaching)*

The Luojiao was founded by Luo Qing, a native of Shandong Province, in the 18th year of Hua Cheng (1482) in the middle of the Ming Dynasty. It was originally called “Wuweiism (Non-actionism)”, and later “Teaching of Patriarch Luo”, “Teaching of Enlightenment to Emptiness”, “the Way of Luo”, etc. Luo Qing, or Luo Menghong, after 10 years of intense cultivation, “eventually awakened and attained the true insight of heart, and founded the Teaching through quietude and non-action”; therefore, it was called Wuweiism and he was revered as the Founder of Wuweiism and Patriarch Luo. Its doctrines were similar to the Southern Sect of Chan Buddhism, emphasizing sudden enlightenment to see your true self, and combining the Taoist “achieving the clear nothingness and remaining in the quiet constancy”. Luo Qing wrote *Enlightenment to the Tao through Hard Efforts*, *the Precious Scroll on the Non-Action in Lamentation of the World*, *The Keys to Refuting Heresies and Revealing the Truth* (two volumes), *Precious Scroll on rectifying Faiths and Removing Doubts*, *Unvarnished and Self-Contained*, and *The precious Scroll, Imposing and Unperturbed as Mount Tai, with Deep Roots and Fruits*, which were historically titled “Five Instructions in Six Books” and laid the doctrinal foundation for the Luo Teaching.

After the death of Luo Qing, the Sect was split into Wuweiism headed by his son Fozheng and the Mahayana Sect headed by his daughter Nvfo, resulting in the pluralistic development of “adhering to not one classic and following not one lineage”. Luojiao further branched into the Teaching of Abstention in the south of the Yangtze River and had many followers among the sailors of the water transport profession who worked in the canal water ways; its influence continued to the end of Ming Dynasty and the beginning of Qing Dynasty. It declined due to the suppression of the Qing Dynasty during the reign of Emperor Qiaqing.

Besides the transmission through Luo Qing and his descendants as founders, Luojiao also spread among the followers whose surnames were not Luo, with historical lineages of “Eighteen Branches” and “Five Branches”. Of the branches, the Wang Sen lineage of the Mahayana Sect developed into Incense Smelling Sect, with its name changed into Tea Gate in the Qing Dynasty; there was the Teaching of Abstention in the south of the Yangtze River, with its founder Patriarch Yao who succeeded Patriarch Luo and Patriarch Yin; and the Luojiao that grew in the canal water ways in Hangzhou became the predecessor of the early modern Green Gang. Luojiao deemed the temples and halls as its center for activities, accepted followers among the garrison soldiers and grain transport soldiers, hence very influential

among them, since the ancestors of Luo Qing used to be in the army; later on, it had attracted a large number of sailors of water transport, boat trackers, tramps, and what's more, the farmers, handy-craftsmen, other levels of the citizens, as well as a small number of upper class bureaucrats and intelligentsia. Its influence extended from the North China to most parts of the country, with a lot of sub-sects being generated. In sum, the Luojiao was one of the roots for the development of folk religions in the Ming and Qing dynasties.

3.4.5 Incense Smelling Sect and the Tea Gate Sect

Incense Smelling Sect used to be a branch of Luojiao, and Wang Sen, its founder, ever studied under Foguang, daughter of Luo Qing, and Perfect Man Sun, the fourth-generation disciple of Luo Qing; together with Sun Wang Sen founded the Mahayana Sect. With Wang's "founding of a new sect" and flying his own colors, his teaching was called the Eastern Mahayana Sect. It was said that Foguang conferred him the None-lotus Incense and "whoever smelled it would be confused in heart", hence Incense Smelling as the name of this sect and Wang's title as the founder of Incense Smelling. The Sect had at one time absorbed over a million followers, but later it underwent disruptions, with Wang Sen ending up in jail and the power of the Sect in the hands of Wang Haoxian, his third son. In the 2nd year of Tianqi (1622), Wang Haoxian and other sect leaders such as Xu Hongru waged a rebellion against the Ming Dynasty, resulting in defeat and Wang's execution, yet the Sect did not die out; it was resuscitated later in Liaodong and in the 9th year of Chongzhen, most followers of the sect submitted to Later Jin Dynasty. After the founding of the Qing Dynasty, a policy of massacre was adopted in depressing folk religious groups such as the Incense Smelling Sect, which, after its dispersion, continued activities in the names of Mahayana Sect and Good Friends Society, and rebelled against the Qing Court's depression with military violence.

The basic unit of the Incense Smelling Sect was called "Hui", which consisted of Huishou (head of the Hui), Chuantou, as well as positions such as Zhangjing and Zhangzhigan in charge of the routine affairs. On the upper level were Zonghuishou (General Head of Huis), Zongchuantou, and Zongzhangjing, together with positions like Taishi (grand preceptor) etc.; Wang Sen declared to be the Ancient Buddha, the chief leader of this sect. After the death of Wang Sen, Wang Haoxian called himself Maitreya Buddha, with a hierarchy system based on the family clans, and the positions in Sect were closely related to economic benefits. The major doctrines of the Incense Smelling Sect revolved around the salvational theories of the three teachings by Dipamkaya, Shakyamuni and Maitreya in the three periods of Green Sun, Red Sun and White Sun; Dipamkaya represented Taoism, Shakyamuni Buddhism and Maitreya (with Confucius as his incarnation) Confucianism: "ancient Buddhas of the three worlds, setting up the Dharma Gates for the three teachings; the three world are one unity, the myriads of things are of one entity, the nine turnings are of one nature, and sanzhou (three levels of the Buddha's teaching)

are applied to the human world in parables of the past, present and future, with the three poles of one birth.”²⁹ The basic ideology of the Sect was that the Unborn Elderly Mother sent the Amitabha Buddha as savior to the world, and Wang Sen, who claimed to be the Ancient Buddha or Elderly Ancient Buddha, was the incarnation or representative of the Amitabha Buddha in the world.

At the beginning of Qing Dynasty, the name “Pure Tea Gate Sect” began to appear. According to the history of the period, “I heard that the followers of the White Lotus Sect changed their sect’s name into Pure Tea Society or the Sect of Returning to the One, due to the suppression by the government since their rebellion in Shandong during the Ming Dynasty. The foolish flocked to join the Sect in multitudes. Its doctrine was that a lamp should be lit during the day and the Buddha was enshrined in a dark place at home, with pure tea as offering. They chanted silently the name of the Buddha with mouth closed and the tongue twisted, explaining the Dharma by fingering the chopsticks, and deeming that the nature of mind / heart was contained in ears, eyes, mouth, and nose.”³⁰ But the Pure Tea Gate Sect in Qing Dynasty did not have the hierarchical system as the Incense Smelling Sect, and was actually quite disrupted and without a leader, meanwhile having very diverse and complicated relationships with the Qing government. In the 20th year of Jiaqing (1815), the Case of the Pure Tea Gate Sect led to the termination of the Wang Family and the demise of the Sect along with it.

3.4.6 *The Sect of Abstinence in the South of Yangtze River and the Green Gang*

Originating in the Luojiang, the Sect of Abstinence in the South of Yangtze River developed from Patriarch Luo through Patriarch Yin to Patriarch Yao. It appeared in Chuzhou of Zhejiang Province as early as the Era of Emperor Jiajing of the Ming Dynasty and flourished all the more in the Qing Dynasty. And “changing its name to One Character Sect, or Laoguan (old official) Sect of Abstinence”, popularly known as Abstinence Sect. Since its headquarters were mainly in the south of Yangtze River, hence the name The Sect of Abstinence in the South of Yangtze River. The Sect and the origin of its name were recorded in the Qing Dynasty documents: “an examination of the Old Official Abstinence Sect revealed that it originated with the Yao in the Qingyuan County, Chuzhou of Zhejiang Province; resorting to Pushan, its ancestral patriarch, the Sect’s first patriarch was called Luo, the second Yin, the third Yao, who was now the the Maitreya Buddha in heaven titled the Unlimited Holy Patriarch. All followers, male or female, were named in the Dharma lineage of Pu; those who joined the Sect and took to fasting were all

²⁹Sections 33 and 35 of *Puming rulai wuwei laiye baojuan* (The Precious Scroll of Complete Enlightenment through non-action of the Tathagata of Universal Light). Cf: Ma (2005).

³⁰Yan Yuan, “On the Preservation of Humanness” in *Four Existences*.

called Old Officials, and so the Sect was said to have the name Old Official Abstention Sect. And Yao Wenyu, its local founder, served as the actual transmitter of the Sect, so the Sect was also called the Teaching of Patriarch Yao.”³¹ After the death of Yao Wenyu, his son Yao Yi assumed the center of the Sect’s leadership, hence forming the hereditary system of the Yao clan blood bonds. Abstention Sect had three main branches of the Left, Middle and Right, and within it there were the nine clan ranks of Etiquette, Righteousness, Integrity, Shame, Filiality, Brotherly Love, loyalty and Harmony; the followers’ Dharma names were Pu and called each other Friends of the Tao, with their chief leader called zongchi (Supreme Edict). And there were from the lowest to the highest twelve hierarchies of Hinayana, Mahayana, Three Vehicles, Xiaoyin, Dayin, Siju, Chuandeng, Haochi, Mingji, Lachi, Qingxu, and Zongchi. The doctrines of the Abstention Sect were a combination of the Chan and the Taoist ideas, emphasizing inner alchemy and absorbing folk religious ideas of Manichaeism, Maitreya Sect, White Lotus Sect, etc. Since the Qianglong Era of the Qing Dynasty, Abstention Sect participated in the rebellions against the Qing Empire until the latter’s demise. In addition, Abstention Sect steadfastly opposed the spread of Christianity, resulting in severe incidents of anti-foreign-religions. Abstention Sect later developed branch sects of Pre- Heaven Sect, Dragon Flower Sect, Gold Banners Sect, etc., exerting a great influence on the Chinese folk religions.

The Green Gang had its origin in the Luojiang that developed extensively among the Canal boatmen at the end of the Ming Dynasty, giving rise to the complicated relationships between religions and gangs. Grains Transport refers to the economic activities of the transportation of grains during the Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties, and Luo Qing, the founder of Luojiang, used to be the grains transportation soldier in his younger years, who later on taught at the halls outside the Sima Platform of Miyun County after founding the Sect, lecturing to the soldiers who were in the profession of grains transportation. Later on, his three disciples of “Qian and Weng of Miyun County, and Pan of Songjiang, wandered to Hangzhou City, expanding the Luojiang, each building a temple to make sacrifices to the Buddha, eating vegetarian food and chanting sutras, hence the names of Qian Temple, Weng Temple and Pan Temple,”³² which acted as the fountainhead for the later Green Gang. Since the three patriarchs of Qian, Weng and Pan “spread the Tao in Hangzhou City”, the city became a center for the gathering of the grains transportation boatmen, and the number of Dharma Halls was on the increase. Yet with the relative concentration of Luojiang followers shifting from the various walks of life to the grains transportation boatmen, the nature of this religion gradually changed, evidenced in the gradual replacement of the hereditary power characterized by blood ties by the patriarchal master-disciple relationships; the existential

³¹File Copy of a Memorial of the Imperial Military Council, the Palace Memorial of Xian Fu, the Provincial Governor of Jiangxi Province, on May 20, in the 19th year of Emperor Jiaqing.

³²Cui Yingjie’s Palace Memorial, in No. 12 of *Biweekly Journal of Historical Materials*, in Ma (2005).

cooperative demands and social unions seemed to be more important than simply religious beliefs. Nonetheless, as long as the temples with religious nature continued to exist, their religious traditions would be preserved. In the 33th year of Emperor Qianlong (1768), the Qing government abolished the temples by force, resulting in the loss of spiritual homes on the part of the boatmen; ever since, the religious societies were in a transition to becoming boatmen guilds, and this signaled the fading out of their religious color and the intensification of their sociopolitical stance. And since the canal had lost the function of grains transportation, most boatmen changed their profession to work in the salt factories in the north of Jiangsu Province and along the two sides of the Huaihe River, organizing new guilds there. The main force of it was in the areas of Andong and Qinghe, and the name “Friends of the Tao at An-Qing” probably came into being in this way; this was the embryonic form of Green Gang. In this way, “in the evolution from Luojiang through boatmen guilds to the Green Gang, the religious consciousness and rituals were functioning less and less, until only certain traces of the worship of the founder Patriarch Luo were left in this organization. Religious doctrines and rituals were replaced by gang regulations, code words, and secret scriptures; the temple halls and old hall boats of the guilds evolved into incense halls and laowazi (old nestles)”³³.

3.4.7 *Perfect and Immediate Teaching (Sect)*

Perfect and Immediate Teaching was related to Luojiang, and its doctrines originated from the theory of “setting up a branch of delicately wonderful Dharma, or the Perfect and Immediate Teaching; unraveling the five Mahayana classics for the universal deliverance of sentient beings.” Luojiang used to call itself the Perfect and Immediate Orthodox Teaching, the teaching of the Imperial Heaven had the “Perfect and Immediate Teaching” as its name, and some branches of Wang Sendong’s Eastern Mahayana Sect also were named likewise. Perfect and Immediate Teaching was founded in the 4th year of Tianqi (1624) in the Ming Dynasty by a man who called himself Gongchang Venerable Patriarch, who asserted that he was the reincarnation of the Holy Immortal Ancient Buddha, his cultivation had reached the realm of “illuminating the heart and seeing the inherent nature”, and wanted to use the slogan of “the eventual harmony of the last Kalpa” to “spread the Tao all over the world” and to confer his followers “conversion and the prediction of future Buddhahood”. This Sect was succeeded through the teachings of Wang Sen, with “the classics preserved by the three trees”, and its classics included the Ancient Immortal Buddha’s Explication of the Dragon Flower, the Precious Scroll of the Wood Man Constructing a Mountain Temple, Manifesting the Teaching and Illuminating the School, etc., proclaiming the cultivation of inner

³³Ma (2005).

alchemy and “employing meticulous efforts”. There was the cultivation strategy of the so-called Ten - Step Cultivation for novices, including “inhaling and nourishing the Qi with hands in mudras”, “breaking through the Middle Meridian with sufficient Pre-Heaven Qi”, “introspecting the inner with eyes closed”, “Rhino gazing at the moon; increasing longevity with full circulation of the haidilun (the root chakra)”, “the clay bull turning and running straight to Mount Kunlu (the Qi breaking through the middle meridian goes straight to dantian or elixir field)”, “the holy fetus being born with the intertwining of lights from nature and destiny”, “with the sounding of the thunder, the Qi gushing forth to the zenith”, “the holy fetus being manifested in the Dudou Palace”, “turning the heavenly chakra in the Palace of the King of Emptiness”, and “entering the world to save people or returning to my pure entity, and eventually ascending to my original heavenly home”. Besides, there were also Shifendianzhang, ten keys, Ten Esoteric Sayings, Ten Mantras, Ten Buddha Names, Four Wonderful Poems, Efforts on Four Forms, True Incenses of the Four Seasons, the Nine-Leafed Lotus Sutra, Three Refuges and Five Precepts, etc. Perfect and Immediate Teaching in its development had three schools and five factions, as well as nine Poles and eighteen Branches. It had a wide-spread influence in the lower strata of the Qing Dynasty, was suppressed by the court, and had its name changed quite a few times, including Oil and Wax Teaching, Secret Teaching, Red Single Teaching, etc; the branch that spread to Jiangxi Province had a important role in the formation of the Consistent Way.

3.4.8 *Yiguandao (Consistent Way)*

The Consistent Way regarded its Daotong as originating in the three teachings of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism, with Confucianism championing the other two; it took its name the Tao of Consistent Unity from “my doctrine is that of an all-pervading unity” (“Li Ren” in *The Analects of Confucius*) for its reverence of the Tao of Confucius and Mencius. According to its historical origins, Yiguandao could be traced to the 6th year of Emperor Kangxi in the Qing Dynasty (1667), when the Complete and Sudden Teaching spread to Jiangxi Province. According to the Qing Dynasty historical records, “in the sixth year of Kangxi in the Qing Dynasty, Luo Wexing, a man from Zhili who had been practicing the Mahayana Sect, got the officially issued *Proclamation to Protect the Way* and started to spread his teaching. Later, Luo went to Jiangxi and the fourth-patriarch-ship was passed down to his disciple He Ruo, who got the Proclamation and went to Guizhou Province to practice the teachings.”³⁴ Based on evidence, Luo Weixing was the eighth patriarch Luo Weiqun, and the Sect at the time was called Mahayana Sect or Mahayana Complete and Sudden Sect, whose name was changed to Wupan Teaching under Wu Zixiang, the son of Luo, the tenth patriarch of the Consistent Way; it was the era of Emperors

³⁴Yinghe’s memorial on February 12, in the 22nd year of Emperor Jiaqing, Memorials to the Emperor with His Comments.

Qianglong and Jiaqing that witnessed Wupan's fourth patriarch, He Ruo, or the twelfth patriarch of the Consistent Way. After the death of He Ruo, Yuan Zhiqian, the twelfth patriarch of the Consistent Way went to Sichuan to explore a new religion and hence the Sect's name was changed to Green Lotus Teaching. During the reign of Emperor Guangxu, the Green Lotus was divided into two major factions, the Way of Former Heaven and the Consistent Way.

The early modern Consistent Way was founded by Wang Jueyi, a native of Qingzhou, Shandong Province, the 15th Patriarch of the Sect, which continued till today. At the initial stage, the Sect was called Final Salvation Sect, or Lamp Flower Sect. Wang Jueyi wrote *An Illustrated Inquiry into the Origins of the Consistent Way*, believing that "the three teachings of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism originate in the One, which preceded the three teachings; Tao is the One, and that's why Confucius said, 'One has a pervading constancy in my teaching'. This is the origin of the name of the Consistent Teaching (or the later Consistent Way)."³⁵ The Consistent Way regards its orthodox unity as its "true transmission of Nature and Principle", that is, the ultimate truth expounded by all religions. According to the Sect's traditional understanding, "this true transmission, in the Confucian tradition, was termed 'Yiguan (Pervading Oneness)' or 'the Tao of Heaven'; in Buddhism, it was termed "the true Dharma Eye Treasury"; in Taoism, it was called "the Great Tao of the Golden Elixir"; in the Ming Dynasty, new religions would generally call it "the Pre-Heaven Great Tao"; "Ever since Fuxi, this true transmission of the Nature and Principle had always been in the teaching, from one patriarch to another. During the reign of Emperor Shunzhi (1644–1661), Huang Dehui as the successor assumed the position of the Ninth Patriarch, and the true transmission of the Nature and Principle gradually became universal teaching. Due to its teaching of the Pre-Heaven Great Tao, it was termed 'Pre-Heaven Tao'. And because of Patriarch Huang's book of the *Precious Scroll of Supreme Imperial Elixir*, his Sect was also called Sect of Supreme Imperial Elixir. In the 23rd year of Emperor Daoguang, when Shui Fazu took the leadership, the cultivation and practice of the Pre-Heaven Tao was turning from the Complete Purity style to the Confucian style; thus, the Great Tao of Pervading Oneness gradually replaced the Great Tao of Pre-Heaven, becoming a new and general term for the Pre-Heaven worship halls. The 15th Patriarch Wang Jueyi resumed the idea of "the pervading oneness of the three supremacies". In the 12th year of Emperor Guangxu, the 16th Patriarch Liu Qingxu officially changed the name of the Sect into Yiguandao (the Tao of Pervading Oneness). In the 29th year of the Republic of China (1940), the 18th Patriarch Zhang Tianran again changed the name of the Sect to Heavenly Tao. Ever since, both Yiguandao and Heavenly Tao have been used."³⁶

According to the understanding of this lineage, among the the patriarchs of Yiguandao's orthodox unity, Fu Xi was regarded as the first Patriarch, Shennong the second, Emperor Xuanyuan the third, Shaohao the fourth, Zhuanxu the fifth,

³⁵Ma (2005).

³⁶*An Introduction to Yiguandao*, Tianju Publishing house, 1988, pp. 2-3.

Emperor Ku the sixth, Emperor Yao the seventh, Emperor Shun the eighth, Emperor Yu of Xia the ninth, Yiyin the tenth, Emperor Tang of Shang the eleventh, Jiang Shang the twelfth, King Wen, King Wu and Duke Zhou the thirteenth, Lao Zi the fourteenth, Confucius the fifteenth, Tan Zi and Zeng Zi the sixteenth, Zi Si the seventeenth, and Mencius the eighteenth; this is the so-called Eighteen Generations of Patriarchs of the east. Later in history, with the loss of Confucian and Taoist continuities, Buddhism took the lineage, which was dated to Bodhidharma's first entry to China, forming the "true Tao's one continuous line of succession". In this vein, Bodhidharma was the first Patriarch, Shen Guang the second, Ceng Can the third, Daoxin the fourth, Hongren the fifth, Huineng sixth, Bai Yuchan and Ma Duanyang the seventh, Luo Weiqun the eighth, Emperor Huand Dehui the ninth, Wu Zixiang the tenth, He ruo the eleventh, Yuan Zhiqian the twelfth, Yang Shouyi and Xu Jinan the thirteenth, Yao Hetian the fourteenth, Wang Jueyi the fifteenth, Liu Qingxu the sixteenth, Lu Zhongyi the seventeenth, and Zhang Tianran and Sun Suyi the eighteenth. Yiguandao has been banned several times after it left China to settle down in Taiwan. In January 1987, Yiguandao's ban was lifted in Taiwan, and developed quickly there, spreading now to over 80 countries and regions.

Yiguandao has developed from its emphasis on the "three teachings in one" marked by "the Tao flows freely through the Confucian gates and Taoist windows; the three teachings have been at the fountainhead of one patriarch" to its reverence of the five saints of the five major religions, namely, the Taoist founder Lao Zi, the Buddhist founder Shakyamuni, the Christian God Jesus, and the Muslim founder Muhammad. Its pantheon also includes the Mingming God (the Unborn Elderly Mother), Heaven-Earth-Sovereigns-Parents-Teachers, Maitreya, the Ancient Buddha of the South Sea (Avalokitesvara), Living Buddha and Holy Teacher (Ji Gong), Bodhisattva Moon Wisdom, different lords of law (Guan Gong, Patriarch Lv, the Great Sovereign of Huanhou, God of Mount Tai, etc.), the Great Sovereign of Immortality, Kitchen God, etc.. The hierarchies of Yiguandao include Patriarchs (Grand Masters and Female Masters), Dignitaries of the Tao, Old Predecessors, Predecessors, ordained masters, altar masters, lecturers, business helpers, Three powers, the Tao- Endearers, etc.

3.4.9 Way of the Yellow Heaven

The Teaching of Yellow Heaven, also known as the Way of Yellow Heaven and the Way of Imperial Heaven was founded during the eras of Jiajing and Wanli during the Ming Dynasty by Li Bin (whose Taoist name was Universal Brightness), a native of Wanquan in Hebei Province. After the death of Li Bin, his wife Madam Wang (Taoist name Universal Light) succeeded to the leadership of the Sect; after the death of her, her two daughters (Taoist names Universal Purity and Universal Radiance) inherited the authority; later on, the leadership was passed down to Universal Sage, the daughter of Universal Radiance; hence the Five "Patriarch Buddhas" of the Yellow Heaven Sect. In the Qing Dynasty, the leadership of the Sect was again in the

hands of the Li family, and its growing influence led to its depression by the Qing court, yet it was not destroyed, its activities continuing in the areas of Hebei Province by 1949. Meanwhile, the Yellow Heaven Sect spread to the South of Yangtze River and other areas, living on in the name of the Teaching of Immortality.

The Way of Yellow Heaven was a hybrid of Taoism and Buddhism, yet more closely related to the folk Taoist beliefs. Its classics had the title “Nine Classics and Eight Books”, including *The Precious Scroll of Complete Enlightenment through non-action of the Tathagata of Universal Light*, *The Precious Scroll of the Key to Heaven of the Tathagata of Universal Quietude*, etc., showing the influence of the Taoist inner alchemy and Talisman school, with emphasis on the significance of cultivation and practice. In the tradition of the Way of Yellow Heaven, man and the universe were originally of one entity, with the former as the micro-cosmos and the latter the macro-cosmos; if the man could take as medicine the essence of heaven and earth and absorb the Pre-Heaven chaotic qi into his body, which functions as the elixir stove, this cultivation will result in the self formation of the elixir pearl. In addition, the Way of Yellow Heaven absorbed the Buddhist cultivation methods and precepts, and its “Five Precepts and Intensive Cultivation” in “preserving the way of immortality” was actually similar to the Buddhist precepts of no killing, no stealing, no sexual-promiscuity, no falsehood and no alcoholic drinking; it also combined the Buddhist concept of the Buddhas of the Three Worlds with its idea of Kalpa change, believing that the past Buddha of Dipamkara was beast faced and human-hearted, the present Buddha Shakyamuni was beast-faced and beast-hearted, and the future Buddha of Maitreya was Buddha-faced and Buddha-hearted; therefore, people should be well prepared for the great change awaiting the world. The Way of Yellow Heaven has worship places specifically for the purpose of religious festivals and funerary confessional rituals. Its confessional rituals at the worship places later, when combined with the rural market fairs, developed into temple fairs, forming the local economic and cultural customs.

3.4.10 Hongyangism

Hongyangism, also termed the Original Undetermined Gate, the Teaching of Original Undetermination, the Red Sun of Original Undetermined Teaching, Yuandun Teaching, Red Sun Teaching, etc., was founded by Han Taihu (1570–1598), a native of Quzhou County, Guangpingfu, Hebei Province in the Wanli Era of the Ming Dynasty. Its origin was the Taoist School of Original Undetermination and it had historical connections with the Wudang Mountain. The term “Original Undetermination” is a Taoist term, referring to the primeval state of Tao as the mother of heaven and earth and the origin of the myriads of things: “Original Undetermination was recorded before the Chaos as the beginning of the Cosmic Qi. Prior to the formation of the Cosmic Qi, there had been the lonesome nothingness, until the true Oneness was inspired into being. The Cosmic Qi circulated and the heaven and earth came into being; Nature operated and the myriads of things were

born.” (*The Seven Tablets in a Cloudy Satchel*, Vol. 2) The Taoist Supreme Elderly Lord was revered as the Sovereign of the Original Undetermination, or the Elderly Ancestral Patriarch, who became the highest deity of this Sect. The term Hongyang (red sun, magnificent sun, or magnanimous sun) came from the ideas of Kalpa in Buddhism and Taoism. “According to the *Bingding Divine Tortoise Mirror*, states would encounter disasters when the time was the Bingwu or Dingwei in the 60 years of Jiazi, and since Bing was characterized by the fiery red and Wei the sheep, the time was termed the Red Sheep Kalpa.”³⁷ At that time there was also the record of “at the end of the Kalpa of the Green Emperor, the Cosmic Qi changed its operation, being incarnated in the embryo of the Hong family” (*Miscellaneous Writings from the South of Mount You*, Part One, Vol. 2). In the era of Jiajing of the Ming Dynasty, historical references also recorded that “the boundless mists of the world are like a burning house full of painful miseries; if one could chance to meet the teaching of the Hongyang, the divine light from countless Kalpas would enlighten you to *wuwei* (non-action)” (*The Precious Scroll of the Merits and Virtues of the Medicine Buddha’s Original Vows*). Some believe that Hongyangism was “changed to Red Sun Teaching in order to avoid the name taboo of Hongli in the era of Emperor Qianlong in the Qing Dynasty.”³⁸ The waging of Hongyangism was for the purpose of propagating the Kalpa change ideology of “the Kalpa of the Red Sun is now coming to an end, and the era of the White Sun should now take its place”, and it asserted that “Now the Shakyamuni Buddha is in charge of the teaching as the Lord of Hongyangism. The past was the Green Sun, the present is the Red Sun, and the future is eventually the White Sun”³⁹.

The courtesy name of Han Taihu, the founder of Hongyangism, was also Hongyang; he was allegedly ordained as a monk in his early years, got the true transmission while cultivating in the Caoxi Cave of Beichan Mountain, was skilled in medicine, wrote Scriptures, later was granted by imperial order the title of “The True Man and Enlightened Doctor of the Zhengde Era”, and was revered by his followers as “High Floating Ancient Patriarch.” In the historical records of the Sect was found “that he was ordained as a monk at the age of 19, visited and learned from various noted masters, cultivated to enlightenment in Taihu Mountain in Lincheng, and attained immortality after sitting in meditation for 3 years in Caoxi Cave. The Patriarch’s Karmic destiny moved the Ancient Lord, so he was awakened from worldliness with Hongyang Baoshe, producing five true classics, and initiating the Teaching in the capital”.⁴⁰ After the founding of the Sect, Han Taihu had most of his activities in Beijing, and with the support of the court eunuchs, was able to print the scriptures, set up worship halls, and focused on building altars, executing rituals and chanting prayers. Yet due to its weak influence, the Sect was later incorporated by Eight Trigram Teaching in the Qing Dynasty.

³⁷Ren (1998).

³⁸Ma (2005).

³⁹Ren (1998).

⁴⁰From *Hongyang maodao yuhua suitang zhenjing*, quoted in Ma (2005).

The major classics of the Sect included *Scripture of the Original Undetermined Hongyang Floating High Ancient Patriarch*, *Scripture of Enlightenment of Tao and Intuitive Insight of Heart of the Original Undetermined Hongyang*, *The True Scripture of Lamentation over the World of the Original Undetermined Hongyang*, etc.; the deities revered included the Ancient Patriarch of Original Undetermination, the Unborn Elderly Mother and the Floating High Ancient Patriarch.

3.4.11 *Eight Trigram Teaching*

Eight Trigram Teaching was founded by Liu Zuochen, a native of Dan County of Shandong Province at the beginning of the Qing Dynasty. It was initially termed Shouyuan Teaching or The Way of Five Meat Dishes. Legend has it that the Sect had left the book *On the Eight Trigrams*, which was the origin of the Sect's name. Eight Trigram Teaching was one of the most influential folk religions of the Qing Dynasty, with many factions and numerous names including, besides the above-mentioned, Nine Palaces Teaching, Pure Water Teaching, Heavenly Principle Teaching, Sagely Teaching, the Way of the Secret Return to Hometown, etc.. Inside the Teaching, there were divisions made according to the Trigrams, with Trigram Kan taking the lead, hence the so-called Teaching of Trigram Kan; among the influential names were Teaching of the Trigram Li, Teaching of the Trigram Zhen, etc.. The divisions were further divided into Wen Trigrams and Wu Trigrams. In the system of the Eight Trigram Teaching was also the differentiation of Golden Elixir Trigram Teaching, One Incense Teaching of the Li Trigram, the Yihemen Teaching of the Li Trigram, etc..

Initially, the Eight Trigram Teaching was led by the Liu family, and according to the record of the Qing Dynasty imperial memos, "Liu Zuochen, a native of Dan County of Shandong Province, founded the Way of the Five Meat Dishes and the Shouyuan Sect, fabricated the evil books such as *The Transmission of the Tao by the Five Ladies*, and recruited followers according to the eight trigrams to hoard money. After the death of Liu Zuochen, his son Liu Ruhan and his grandson Liu Quezhong succeeded the leadership of the Sect. Liu Xingguo, the son of Liu Que, inherited the leadership of the Sect."⁴¹ Liu Zuochen was the head of the whole Sect of the Eight Trigram, his follower Hao Yun, a native of Shangqiu, Henan Province, was in charge of the Teaching of the Trigram Kan, Hou Tang, a native of Jinxiang, Shandong Province, was in charge of the Teaching of the Trigram Zhen, and Wang Rongqing, a native of Heze, Shandong Province, was also said to be a very important figure in the Teaching of the Trigram Zhen. During the fourth generation leadership of Liu Xingguo, the names of the earliest sects of The Way of the Five Meat Dishes and the Shouyuan Teaching had been changed to Pure Water. At this

⁴¹File Copy of a Memorial of the Imperial Military Council, the Palace Memorial of Yong Lang, on the intercalary month of July 24, in the 51st year of Emperor Qianlong.

time, except the Kun Trigram, the schools of Kan, Li, Zhen, Gen, Xun, Qian, and Dui had all been established, and the “Nine Palaces and Eight Trigrams”, characterized by “Nine Palaces securely established inside and Eight trigrams firmly constructed outside”, was beginning to take shape. The Nine Palaces constituted the core of the Sect and was controlled by the Liu family. Inside the Sect were the Pre-Heaven, Middle Heaven and Post-Heaven memorial tablets, with Liu Zuochen revered as the Pre-Heaven Lord, and Liu Xingguo as the the Post-Heaven Lord. In its understanding, “the minor achievement of Fuxi’s *Book of Change* belonged to the Pre-Heaven stage, the average achievement of Shennong’s *Book of Change* belonged to the Middle Heaven stage, and the great achievement of Yellow Emperor’s *Book of Change* belonged to the Post-Heaven stage. (Yang Shen, *General Collections on the Studies of Lead*) During the leadership of Liu Xingguo, the Sect had developed to its maturity. At the time, the Sect had the usual setting of the memorial tablets with yellow cloths, “on which were written characters such as Pre-Heaven, Middle Heaven and Post-Heaven. And there were also offerings of three cups of pure water, hence the name Pure Water Sect” (Pan Xiang of the Qing Dynasty, “Wanings Against Evil Cults” in *Writing Collections of the Study of Wen*). Liu Erhong, the son of Liu Xingguo, became the fifth generation leader of Sect; later, Liu Chenlin, the son of Liu Xigguo’s cousin Liu Tingxian, became the six generation leader; however, with the massacre of most of the Liu clan came the termination of the history of the six generation leadership of the Sect by the Liu family. The Teaching of Trigram Li had Gao Yunlong as its Patriarch, known was The Perfect Man Who Saw Through Heaven, whose transmission of the teaching continued till the end of the Qing Dynasty and the beginning of the Republican Era. The Teaching of the Trigram Zhen had as its leader Hou Tang, who was later succeeded by Wang Zhong, the son of Wang Rongqing; the leadership of the Sect was later succeeded by the Wang offsprings and in turn by the descendants of Bu Wei, the Perfect One of Trigram Zhen; during the leadership of Li Wencheng, the Sect was reunited with the Teaching of the Hexagram Kan under the leadership of Lin Qing, and was suppressed by the Qing court in the 4th year of Emperor Daoguang (1824). The Teaching of the Trigram Kan was led by Zhang Bai and Kong Wanlin, later succeeded by Lin Qing; in the 18th year of Emperor Jiaqing (1813), it planned a rebellion together with Li Wencheng, in the name of the Teaching of the Heavenly Principle; they even stormed the Forbidden City, causing the historically famous Forbidden City Incident, but it was eventually defeated and Lin Qing was executed. One branch of the Pure Water Teaching also rebelled under the leadership of Wang Lun, and was likewise suppressed. The Teaching of the Eight Trigrams had attempted rebellion several times, and was active in coordinating with the Nian Rebellion in the north; at that time, all the divisions of the Eight Trigram Teaching each had their respective banners for rebellion, namely, the black banners of Trigram Kan, the red banners of Trigram Li, the white banners of Trigrams Qian and Dui, the yellow banners of Trigrams Kun and Gen, and the green banners of Zhen and Xun, yet due to the great disparity in strength, none of them was victorious in the rebellion. Towards the end of the Qing Dynasty, the

Eight Trigrams Teaching, under the leadership of Li Xiangshan, developed into the Way (Teaching) of the Nine Palaces.

The Eight Trigram Teaching was ideologically based on the construct of the eight trigrams of the *Book of Change*, emphasizing the interaction of heaven and earth manifested in the eight trigrams, and understanding heaven, earth, wind, thunder, water, fire, mountains, and lakes as symbolized by the eight trigrams in terms of “with the division of the eight trigrams comes the creation of heaven and earth”. The schools within the Sect was set according to the ideas of the Eastern Mahayana Sect in the Ming Dynasty, that is, “the true essence guides the Kan Trigram, the true god guides the Li Trigram, the true Hun guides the Zhen Trigram, the true Po guides the Dui Trigram, the true Yang guides the Qian Trigram, the true Yin guides the Kun Trigram, the true Brightness guides the Gen Trigram and the true action guides the Xun Trigram”⁴². Under the head of the eight Trigrams are the six Lines under the leadership of the Perfect One Who Guides the Way, under whom are in turn the sub-levels led by the Perfect One Who Explores the Way, the Future Perfect One, Zongliushui (General Flowing Water), Liushui (Flowing Water), Dianhuo (Lighting a fire), Quanshi, Chuanshi, Maishi, and Qiushi, thus forming the relatively complete hierarchical system of the Sect. The classics of the Eight Trigrams Teaching included *The Precious Scroll of the Transmission of the Tao by the Five Ladies*, *The Pictograph of the Eight Trigrams*, *The Doctrines and Principles of the Eight Trigrams Teaching*, *The Song of the Eight Books and Eight Trigrams of Qian, Kan, Gen, Zhen, Xun, Li, Kun and Dui*, *The Nine-Classic Songs of the Qian’s Great Origination, Penetration, Advantageousness and Constancy and the Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter*, *Tea Picking Song with Lingshan Rituals*, *Scripture of the Western Sovereign*, *The Precious Scroll of the Return to the Primordial Beginning through the Golden Elixir*, etc..

3.4.12 Zhenkongism

Zhenkongism, also named the Way of True Emptiness, the Teaching of Empty Tao, the Teaching of Patriarch Liao, the Way of Great Tao in Emptiness, etc., was founded by Liao Dipin, a native of Xunwu County, Ganzhou, Jiangxi Province, in the early years of Emperor Tongzhi of the Qing Dynasty, and the Huangsheshan Cultivation Hall of Xunwu County thus became the Patriarch Hall. Ordained in his early years to study Buddhism, Liao Dipin was deeply influenced by Luo Teaching’s classics of “Five Books in Six Fascicles”, and later returned to his hometown to found the Teaching, which was transmitted by means of bland tea, no opium, and psychological treatment, beginning to give shape to the Teaching. Zhenkongism had at its core the idea of “emptiness” and the main doctrine was

⁴²*The Precious Scroll of Returning Home with Supreme Imperial Golden Elixir and the True Faith of Nine Lotus*, quoted in Ma (2005).

Liao Dipin's "returning to the root and the undifferentiated, and restoring the Oneness and emptiness"; Liao also designed the pictograph within emptiness, the pictograph of the empty Tao, the pictograph of the empty character, and the pictograph without emptiness, as illustrations to aid his teaching of the Tao. In his worship halls were often hung the proselyting couplets of "the Tao of emptiness has its origin, delivering the people out of the sea of suffering; centrality without a trace of partiality could transport all sentient beings to their original root", "man is in harmony with the three measures of heaven, earth and man, returning to the primeval origin with the inner equality of the six directions; our Tao draws from Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism, standing alone as the revered one outside the three holy teachings", etc.. This Sect also advocated taking refuge, in the middle, in the righteous, in the One, and in emptiness, as well as examining the true, the straight, the vows, and the charities. One dominant feature of its worship was that it did not revere idols; instead, a big, rectangular mirror was hung on the central wall of the scriptural hall or on the screen, on which was the Pictograph in Emptiness, and in front of the mirror and behind the incense altar were a line of five empty chairs with no one allowed to sit on; the middle one was reserved for Liao Dipin, the Patriarch of Zhenkongism, and the other four were for Lai Renzhang, the Patriarch of Root Emptiness, Ling Bangbi, the Patriarch of Original Emptiness, Zhang Shengjian, the Patriarch of Accepting Emptiness, and Madam Lan, the Sagely Mother of Root Emptiness. On both sides of the empty chairs was one chair facing the south, used as the head monk's Tao protection chair. The other chairs used for followers' worship were all facing north. Zhenkongism was intended to "eradicate opium addiction and deliver all sentient beings", allowing all drug addicts to join the Sect for treatment, and those addicted followers were called "muddy water fellows" and those without this bad habit were called "clear water fellows". At the end of the Qing Dynasty, Zhenkongism was suppressed by the government, and Liao Dipin died in prison. But in the Republican era, the ban was lifted, and the Sect spread to Southeast China and Central China, and later to Hongkong, Macao, and Southeast Asian countries; it has now become the folk religion followed by some overseas Chinese societies. Its four major classics included the *Precious Scroll of Baokong*, the *Precious Scroll of the Formless*, the *Precious Scroll of the Three Teachings*, and the *Precious Scroll of Repaying Gratitude*.

3.4.13 *The Church of the Three-in-One*

The Church of the Three-in-One, a folk religion that combined Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism, was founded by Lin Zhao'en (1517–1598), a scholar of Putian, Fujian Province during the Zhengde Era and the Wanli Era in the Ming Dynasty. Having failed the village level imperial examinations several times, Lin Zhao'en resorted to studying the three teachings of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism by himself, gradually forming his theory of the three teachings in one and

starting to organize relevant learned groups; the feature of his teaching was that “the teaching of Zaho’en regards Confucianism as its root, Taoism as its gate, and Buddhism as its ultimate principles”.⁴³ Of the three teachings, Lin had a special liking for Confucianism, yet was influenced most by Taoism, particularly the Nine-Ordered Inner Alchemy he got from his acquaintance, the Taoist monk Zhuo Wanchun, in Putian, hence the saying of “Mad Zhuo and Crazy Lin”. In the Teaching of the Three in One, the masters, Zhuo Wanchun, Lin Zhao’en and Zhang Sanfeng, were equally revered. Their society was initially called “The Hall of the Three Cardinal Principles and Five Constant Virtues”, with “the Hall of Harmony in One” as the center, aiming to “converge with Taoists and Buddhists through the Three Cardinal Principles and Five Constant Virtues, making them into scholar-officials, farmers, artisans and merchants. We are in one with the Confucianists”⁴⁴. Thus, the religious teaching came into being with its foundation of the reverence of Confucius and the return to Confucianism, as well as “all three teachings converging at the heart”, hence the embryonic form of the Church of the Three Teachings. In the process of the teaching transmission, Lin got a tremendous success and a sea of followers with his creation of the Qigong therapy of “Gen beifa (Gen Hexagram in the back method)”. Meanwhile, his popularity and reverence was also due to his deep social concern. At that time, the “dwarf Japanese pirates” were invading Putian and other regions, Lin not only “had contracts of thousand pounds of gold with the Guangdong soldiers so as to defeat the Japanese invaders”, but also donated money to furnish honorable funerals for those who died in the anti-Japanese battles, resulting in the favorable impression and admiration of Military General Qi Jiguang for him; the two became bosom friends. With Lin’s increasing prestige, the churches of Three in One were set up all across the Putian region, and Lin was revered as the founder of the Teaching of Three in One, thus completing the transition of the Teaching of Three in One from an academic group to a purely religious society. “Initially, in the churches of the Three in One, four statues for worship were placed, namely, Confucius, with name Zhongni in the Confucian tradition, the Grand Master of the Sagely Teaching; Lao Zi, with name Qingni in the Taoist tradition, the Grand Master of the Metaphysical Teaching; Tathagata, with name Shakyamuni, the Grand Master of the Chan Teaching; and Lin Zhao’en, with name Xiawuni, the founder of the Teaching of Three in One”⁴⁵. At that time, the Teaching of Three in One was called Xia Teaching, which explained the theory that Taiji, Yinyang and Five Elements were unified in Xia.

After the death of Lin Zhao’en, the Teaching of Three in One developed pluralistically, with the branch led by Chen Biao and Wang Xin spreading the teaching in the areas of Fuzhou, Wuyi Mountain, Nanjing, Huizhou, Mount Huangshan, the branch led by Zhang Hongdu and Zhen Lan in Jiangsu Province, particularly

⁴³“Biography of Lin Sanjiao”, Category of Biographies, in *Anthology of Huang Lizhou*.

⁴⁴“The True Record Notes of Master Lin”, in *Book Nine of the Zhen Anthology, The Complete Works of Master Lin*, quoted in Ma (2005).

⁴⁵Ma (2005).

Nanjing and Beijing, and the branch led by Lu Wenhui in Putian, Xianyou and Fuxing, constituting the main areas of the Three in One dissemination; meanwhile, the branch led by Zhu Fangdan disseminated the teaching around Hubei Province. Later the Teaching of Three in One spread overseas, flourishing especially in the countries of Southeast Asia.

The basic doctrines of the Teaching of Three in One stressed the unity of the three teachings of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism, believing in their common origin and the oneness of their Tao; thus the original Tao should be restored. According to Lin Zhao'en, the three religions had now all undergone transformations, with serious corrupted practices, so there must be "the oneness of the orthodox traditions". To him, "the reason that the Sage was able to move all generations is due to the true heart, through which the Tao of the Sage unified the world. That is why it was called Daotong. Emperors Yao and Shun got the true heart and named it Zhong (centrality) to initiate the origination of Daotong. Confucius got the true heart and termed it One, to inherit and succeed the transmission of Daotong; therefore, he stressed "the entry through the method of the heart to construe the ultimate principles of unified tradition, the attainment of the One, and the returning to the One."⁴⁶ That is to say, though there were three religions, yet the Tao was the same; the classification into three teachings was a violation of the their origin, so the three should be unified into one and return to the one Tao. In addition, the Teaching of Three in One emphasized that the followers practice the Nine-Ordered Method generalized by Lin Zhao'en, that is, the first order of "Gen bei (Gen Hexagram in the back)", the second order of "Zhoutian (Celestial Circuit)", the third order of "Tongguan (Passing the fort)", the fourth order of "setting securely the essence in the middle of body to have the Yin elixir congealed", the fifth order of "Gathering the Yin and Yang energies from heaven and earth as medicinal elixir", the sixth order of "congealing the shen and qi into forming the Yang elixir", the seventh order of "transcending life and death to merge the body with heaven and earth", the eighth order of "surpassing the heaven and earth to transform the body into the Great Emptiness", and the ninth order of "breaking the emptiness to be enlightened to the ultimate principle"; all aimed to attain the realm of transcendence and detachment. The major classics of the Teaching of Three in One included *Shenxue tongzong* (*The Root and Tradition of the Sage Learning*) by Lin Zhao'en, as well as *The Complete Works of Master Lin* and *Linzi Sanjiao Zhengzong Tonglun* (*The General Commentary of the Orthodox Tradition by Master Lin of the Three Teachings*) compiled after his death.

⁴⁶Refer to Ma (2005).

3.4.14 *Liumen Teaching*

Liumen Teaching, also named Liumen, or the Way of Liumen, was founded by Liu Yuan, a native of Shuangliu, Sichuan Province in the middle of the Qing Dynasty. In the courtyard of Liu's abode were planted Chinese Scholar trees, so his teaching was also called "Huaixuandao (the Way of the Scholar Tree Veranda)". Having failed several times in the imperial metropolitan examinations, Liu Yuan returned to his hometown to start his teaching career and set up academic societies, attracting many followers, hence his title of "Confucius in the West of Sichuan"; his works included the four volumes of *Huaxuan zalu* (*Miscellaneous Writings of Scholar Tree Veranda*). He adhered to the Study of the Mind-Heart by Lu Jiuyuan and Wang Yangming, emphasizing the tranquility of the mind, the cultivation of nature, and the observance of the heavenly principles to accomplish the achievements of the sages and former worthies. And in terms of cultivation, he emphasized the Taoist ways of nourishing life, and was said to have got the transmission of Taoist monk Jingyi and Wild Clouds the Elderly one. After the death of Liu Yuan, his eldest son Liu Songwen succeeded him as the chief of the Sect, who was in turn succeeded by Liu Yuan's sixth son Liu Wen; Liu Wen's son Liu Xianbei (or Jianquan) did not like the career of the sect teaching; instead, he spent his time in academic research, leaving the *Tuishi quanshu*, which covered such fields as literature, history and philosophy. Unfortunately, he died in his prime at the age of 36 in 1932. Liu Xianqu (or Zhongtao) became the fourth generation patriarch, when the military lords of Sichuan such as Liu Xiang, Liu Wenhui and Deng Xihou all had formally acknowledged Liu as their master. After 1949, Liumen Teaching terminated all its activities.

The Nine-Stage Cultivation method was secretly transmitted in the form of lecturing in Liumen Teaching; only the Sect's disciples were taught this method, and only through oral transmission or transmission from heart to heart. Its elixir method included nine stages or steps, hence the so-called "Nine Stage Cultivation method", and before the learning of the elixir method, disciples must execute the Sect's five cardinal principles and fifteen precepts. Liumen Teaching was influenced by Taoism and paid great attention to the Zhaijiao rituals, its ritual assemblies including Shangyuan (Upper Yuan or Upper Primordial) Assembly, Patriarch Buddha Assembly, Zhongyuan (Middle Yuan or Middle Primordial) Assembly, Nine Emperors Assembly, Xiayuan (Lower Yuan or Lower Primordial) Assembly, etc.. During religious activities, Liumen teaching, in the spirit of the Confucian "man as the measure of the nature of heaven and earth", paid much attention to social charities. The classic of Liumen Teaching was the *Huaxuan Quanshu* (*Complete Works of Scholar Tree Veranda*), which was written by Liu Yuan and compiled by later generations.

3.4.15 *Tiandi Teachings (Religion of the Heavenly Sovereign)*

Tiandi Teachings (Religion of the Heavenly Sovereign) was formally founded by Li Yujie in Taiwan in 1980. Li Yujie in his early years formally acknowledged Xiao Changming, the founder of the Teaching of Heavenly Virtues, as his master. He went to Mount Huashan for cultivation of the Tao in 1937 and in 1942 completed his book *The Ideological System of New Philosophy of Religion*, whose title was later changed to *New realms*, representing the basic doctrines of the Teaching of Heavenly Sovereign. In 1949, he went to Taiwan, started the Self-Reliance Evening Paper in 1950, founded the Teaching of Heavenly Sovereign in 1980, became its patriarch, and served concurrently in a position of director-general of the Sect's Society for Research on the Philosophy of Religion.

The Heavenly Sovereign was the target of worship in the Religion of the Heavenly Sovereign, which believed that the Heavenly Sovereign was the Shangdi (Heavenly Lord) in the ancient Chinese record of "fasting and bathing to carry our rituals to Shangdi", who was revered by Chinese and all human race. According to the Religion of the Heavenly Sovereign, "after the Heavenly Sovereign created the universe, He founded the teaching and initiated the orthodox tradition; with one root and multifarious manifestations, the Tao had its operations permeating the universe. Whenever disasters, doubts, tribulations and great changes occurred in the universe, the Heavenly Sovereign would, according to the circumstances, chose and sent a representative or emissary to be born in an appropriate planet to found the salvational teaching for the purpose of practicing the Tao and transforming the people through instruction."⁴⁷ As such, it continued in the human world till the 51st generation as the Teaching of the Heavenly Poles with Pan Gu as its founder; the 52rd generation as the Teaching of Heavenly Origin, with Emperor Xuanyuan as the founder, including the Five Generations of Prosperity and Exuberance, namely, Tang Yao the Founder of Divine Virtues, Yu Shun the Founder of Divine Solemnity, Xia Yu the Founder of Divine Intelligence, Duke Zhou the Founder of Divine Magnitude, and Confucius the Founder of Culture Manifestation; the 53rd generation as the Teaching of Tianjun with the Heavenly Lord of Juntian as the Founder, subordinating five branch sects, namely, the Hierarch of the Supreme Highness who advocated tranquility and non-action, the Hierarch of Shakyamuni who advocated compassion and equality, the Hierarch of Yukou who advocated the unceasing eternity, the Hierarch of Jesus who advocated universal love, and the Hierarch of Cloud Dragon who advocated the instructive transformation through Heavenly Tao, self-cultivation of magic techniques, and the transmission of Daotong; the 54th generation of Teaching of the heavenly Virtues with Xiao

⁴⁷*An Introduction to Religion*, Taiwan Minghe Printing Company Limited, 1991, p. 427.

Changming as the founder; and 55th generation of the Teaching of Heaven and Man with Li Yujie as the founder.⁴⁸

There were five levels of teaching academies in the Religion of Heavenly Sovereign, the highest being the Global “Beginning Academy”, the second highest being the continent-level “Unification Academy”, the third being the national-level “Master Academy”, the fourth being provincial-level “Imperial Academy”, and the lowest being the county-level “Junior Academy”; the sacred abodes for cultivation were built in Leilia, Yuchi Village, Nantou County, in Taiwan. The followers called themselves “Tong fen”, meaning striving hard together.

3.4.16 *De Teaching (teaching of virtue)*

In the area of Chaoshan in Guangdong Province, De Teaching was founded, among others, by Yang Ruide, a native of Yingxigang, Heping District, Chaoyang County, Guangdong Province, in 1939, and the Purple Fragrance Pavilion was the first Pavilion of the De Teaching. In 1940, De Teaching’s second Pavilion, the Purple Clarity Pavilion, was founded by Ma Guide in 1940 in South Xunxiang Village of Chaoyang, his hometown, to be followed in 1942 by the Purple Harmony Pavilion, the third Pavilion of the De Teaching in Chao’an Street in Shantou City. And the Purple Harmony Pavilion later sent men to found the fourth Pavilion, that is, the Purple Transparency in Chenghai. In 1944, Li Huaide founded the Purple Sun Pavilion, the Fifth Pavilion of the De Teaching in Longxi District of Chao’an City, to be followed soon after by the founding of De Teaching’s sixth Pavilion, the Purple Hero Pavilion in Huali of Shantou City. In its initial stage, the De Teaching had founded more than 20 Pavilions in the Chaoshan region. In 1947, Ma Guide founded the Purple Garden Pavilion in Hongkong, and with it the De Teaching spread to Hongkong. Later on, the De Teaching gradually spread to many countries and regions in Southeast Asia, Austria, America, etc., becoming an important religion for today’s overseas Chinese. The basic doctrine of the De Teaching is “the Tao as the root and De or virtue as the Lofty Ideal”, emphasizing “the Tao as the Essence and De as the Function; it is characterized by the transmission of moral instruction, with De as its key concept, stressing the transformation of people through De, advocating the ideology of “inseparability of the teaching and the virtues as well as the companionship of the De and the self”, and pursuing the ideal realm of “the unity of teaching and De”. In social practice and personal integrity, the De Teaching promoted its behavioral norm of “Ten Rules and Eight Regulations”, with the ten Rules referring to filial Piety, Brotherly Love, Loyalty, Faithfulness, Rituals, Righteousness, Incorruptibility, Sense of Shame, Benevolence, and Wisdom, and the Eight Regulations meaning the Eight Good Principles of Non-Cheating, Non-Pretension, Non- Desirousness, Non-Falsehood,

⁴⁸*An Introduction to Religion*, Taiwan Minghe Printing Company Limited, 1991, p. 429.

Non-Arrogance, Non-Laziness, Non-Grudge, and Non-Evil. And the religious practice of the De Teaching was focused on Fuji, a kind of divination practice. In terms of the relationship between different religions, the De Teaching advocated the harmonious route of the common origin of the five religions, the harmonious unity of the world, all goodness harmonized in De, the harmonious coexistence of all religions and the seeking of common ground while reserving differences. According to the De Teaching, “the basic doctrine of Taoism is the reverence of De, the basic doctrine of the Buddhism is compassionate goodness, the core of Confucianism is zhongshu (conscientiousness and altruism), the basic spirit of Christianity is universal love, and the focal tenet of Islam is benevolence and altruism, all of which are the moral essences of the peoples of the world. The purpose of the De Teaching’s reverence of the five religions is to “propagate the the moral essences of the five religions, awaken the innate goodness within people, and adhere to and practice these virtues in real life.”⁴⁹ The major Classic of De Teaching is *The Heart Canon of De Teaching*.

References

- Chen, J., & Zhang, Y. (Eds.). (2011). *Xuezhè guān dejiào* [Scholars Viewing the De Teaching] (p. 294). Social Sciences Academic Press.
- Gao, W., & Fan, X. (1994). *Chinese Confucian temples* (pp. 2–3). Chengdu Press.
- Li, S. (1999). *The history of Chinese Confucianism* (Vol. 1, p. 211). Shanghai People’s Press.
- Li, S. (2000). The new guidelines of Zhu Xi’s Confucian Religion. In J. Ren *Arguments on the issues of the Confucian religion* (p. 430). Beijing: Religious Culture Publisher.
- Ma, X. (2005). *A brief history of folk Chinese religions* (p. 12, 19–20, 41, 172, 160, 207, 273, 275, 331, 354, 357, 369–370). Shanghai People’s Press.
- Mou, Z., & Jian, Z. (2000). *A general history of Chinese religions* (Book One) (p. 7). Social Sciences Academic Press.
- Ren, J. (Ed.) (1998). *Dictionary of religions* (p. 634). Shanghai Lexicographic Publishing House.
- Ren, J. (Ed.). (1998). *Zongjiao dacidian* [The Great Dictionary of Religions] (p. 314). Shanghai Lexicographic Publishing House.
- Ren, J. (2010). *Anthologies of essays on religion by Ren Jiyu* (pp. 474, 478, 492, 536). China Social Sciences Press.
- Wang, S. (1976). *Leadership and the nation*. Li Ming Cultural Enterprise Co., Ltd.
- Wang, D. (1988). *The roots and branches of the Phoenix culture* (p. 10). Beijing Arts and Crafts Press.
- Zhao, G. (1990). *On the cultural analysis of fertility worship* (pp. 1, 168). Social Sciences Academic Press.
- Zhuo, X. (1999). *Understanding religion* (pp. 21–22). Social Sciences Academic Press.

⁴⁹Chen and Zhang (2011).

Chapter 4

The Localization of World Religions in China

4.1 Cultural Exchange and the Dissemination of Religions: China & The World

It is the year 138 B.C. (the third year of Jianyuan in the Western Han Dynasty) when Zhang Qian was under an imperial command to carry the emissary mission to the Western Regions that marked the dramatic prelude of the world-famous Silk Road, initiating the cultural exchange between China and the rest of the world as well as the transmissions of religions. After that, Zhang Qian went to the Western Regions twice, opening up the pathway between Europe and Asia, forming the exchange of countries characterized by “emissaries seeing each other on the road”, and promoting the active exchanges of the Euro-Asian politics, economy and culture. In the nearly two thousand years history of the ancient Silk Road, the transmission and exchange of religions accounted for a large proportion and played a major role. Many foreign religions spread to China along the Silk Road, enriched the religious culture of China and facilitated the convergence and fusion of the religious faiths between Chinese and foreign people. Similarly, in the deep contact with the Chinese society and culture, these foreign religions underwent the process of localization, with some mingling with the Chinese culture and becoming the “sinicized” religions, and some even playing a very important role in the renewal and innovation of the Chinese culture.

4.1.1 *From Zoroastrianism to Huo’ao Teaching*

Zoroastrianism used to be the national religion of Sassan Dynasty in ancient Persia, exerting an extensive influence over Central Asia. Because the religion regarded fire as representing light, goodness and the symbol of Ahura Mazda, the Supreme God of Goodness, and had a general practice of worshipping the fire, it was called in the

Chinese history Aojiao, Huo'aojiao, Baihuojiao; the Chinese character Ao is made up of the two parts of shi (worship) and tian (heaven), reflecting the worshipping of such celestial bodies as the sun, the moon, etc., hence their chief God "being initially termed the Heavenly God" in China. The opening up of the ancient Silk Road contributed to the transmission of Zoroastrianism to the east; it arrived in China in about the sixth century Southern and Northern Dynasties via the Central Asian Sogdians, flourishing for a time in the Western Regions, in states like Karasahr, Samarqand, Kashgar, Khotan, etc., and even revered and promoted by emperors of ancient dynasties. Chen Yuan pointed out that "the term 'Huo'ao' was known in China since the Nanliang of the Northern Wei Dynasty".¹ As an illustration, in the reign of Ling Taihou (Empress Dowager Ling), the religion was the solely revered one; emperors took the lead in worshipping; Ling Taihou eulogized it with the poetic line of "forming the light, creating the myriads of things and inhaling the chaste Qi", while all other forms of worship were banned. During the Northern Qi and Northern Zhou Dynasties, there was the popularity of shiwutian (serving the *hu* or foreign heaven), together with bai hutian (worship the foreign heaven), and hutian (foreign heaven) became a special term to refer to this religion, while hu tianshen or foreign heavenly gods were used to differentiate the "the sayings about heaven in China." In the dynasties of Sui and Tang, the popularity of this religion led to the construction of many Zoroastrian shrines, for which the rulers set up the Sabaofu, offices of administration, and officials in charge of relevant rituals, such as the buzhenf fang, Liquan fang, Puning fang, Jinggong fang and Chonghua fang in Chang'an of the Tang Dynasty, the Huijie fang, Xuandefang, Nanshi xifang in Luoyang City, and the Shrine for Ao Gods in Liangzhou. The religion was termed "Hu'ao" in the Tang Dynasty for the purpose of referring to it as specifically a "hu" or foreign religion. According to Chen Yuan, "the Chinese character 'ao' had its origin at the end of the Sui Dynasty and the beginning of the Tang Dynasty"; "the meaning of the character 'ao' revealed the fact that the gods were foreign, hence its composition of the two parts of "worshipping" and "heaven". Meanwhile, in the writings of the Zhou Dynasty was found this character too, meaning the huo'ao shen (gods of the Fire 'Ao'). The linked usage of the two characters *huo* and *ao* also was initiated here."² The Christian Nestorian School that came to China at the beginning of the Tang Dynasty was mistakenly regarded as Zoroastrianism from Persia; therefore, it was called the Persian Religion, Persian Hu Religion, or Persian Sutra Religion; hence, the Jing Teaching (Nestorianism) had the parts ri (sun) and huo (fore) to form the character Jing 景 to show its meaning of Light.

Since the Western Regions was connected to the ancient Silk Road, the Hu people had come to China, mostly the Central Asian Sogdians, who first spread Zoroastrianism to China, so the Sabaoguan, the official position in charge of the Zoroastrian temples, was given to the Hu people. Specifically speaking, the

¹Chen (1980a, b).

²Ibid, p. 308.

followers of the Ao mainly came from Sogdiana, Persia and the Anguo, Caoguo, Shiguo, Shiluoguo, Miguo, Kangguo, etc., which were the present-day Samarkand region; “these six states all practiced the Huo’ao, and did not recognize Buddhism” (Huichao, *Pilgrimage to the Five Regions of India*); “the Emperor and the subjects did not believe in Buddhism, only regarding worshipping the fire as their Tao” (A *Biography of the Tripitaka Master of the Great Ci’en Temple*). Because “the Hu people of the Western Regions accepted the religious doctrines to worship the Ao” (“Records of the Western Regions” in *New Book of Tang*), the temples dedicated to the Hu’ao were constructed one after another. At first, the merchants who came to do business in China or those who settled down in China brought this religious faith to China, influencing gradually the other nationalities of China; they spread the religion to the Zhongyuan (Central Plain), Mongolia, Tibet, Northwest, etc., leaving traces also in the South of the Yangtze River. The religion had quite a large influence in the ancient Chinese minority areas along the Silk Road, and the followers included Sabirs, Turks, Mongolians, Tibetans, etc.; it even had traces in the native Bon religion of Tibet.³

Whether on the routes of the Silk Road on Land or the important ports on the Maritime Silk Road could all be detected the development of Zoroastrianism, which flourished in the Sui and Tang Dynasties and was called the Ao Religion, Huo’ao Religion or Baihuo Religion because the Chinese thought the followers of the religion had faith in the celestial bodies such as the sun and the moon and worshiped the fire; actually, this was a reflection of the indigenization and gradual Sinicization of Zoroastrianism. Later, due to the impact of the forceful entry of Islam to China, Ao Religion began to decline towards the end of the Northern Song Dynasty. Till the end of the Northern Song Dynasty and the beginning of the Southern Song Dynasty, the existence of the Ao temples could still be seen, and the traces of the extant Ao Religion were found from time to time among the folks. Yet after the Song Dynasty, the Ao Religion could never be found in China. Historically, Zoroastrianism had a lasting influence on the spiritual culture of the Silk Road; in addition to the still emphasized faith features of the worship of fire and the pursuit of light, the Muhu Songs, Huteng dances, Huxuan Dances, Dances of Splashing the Hu and Praying for Cold, Tuobiwuyan, etc., were all developed from the ritual customs and constituted the wide-circulated cultural legacies in the relevant areas of China.

4.1.2 From Manichaeism to Ming Cult

Manichaeism, another ancient religion of Persia, was founded by Mani, a reformer of religion in the 3rd century. He absorbed the elements of Christianity, Buddhism and the then popular Gnosticism to remold the traditional Zoroastrianism, so the

³Gong and kejia (1998).

reformed religion formed this way was called Manichaeism. Mani was murdered in 277 after his founding of the religion, and his disciples, who escaped to the east, spread the religion to Central Asian. Afterwards, in Central Asia, North Africa and India were all found the imprints of Manichaeism. In the fourth and fifth centuries, it spread to China via the Silk Road on Land and the Maritime Silk Road, and its Bright Temples were already found in the Sui Dynasty.

The general consensus of the academia is that Manichaeism spread to China along the Silk Road no later than the second half of the seventh century during the Tang Dynasty. “According to the documentary fragments unearthed in Central Asia, Manichaeism entered China in 675”.⁴ Whereas, “according to the traditionalist views, Manichaeism only started to enter China in the first year of Yanzai (694) during the reign of Empress Wu Zetian. The reason behind is a record in Volume 39 of *Complete Chronicle of the Buddha and Patriarchs*, ‘in the first year of Yanzai.... The Persian named Fuduodan (original note: a person from the West Sea Daqin or Rome) came to meet the Emperor with the pseudo teaching of Manichean *Scripture on the Two Principles (Erzong Jing)*’. This view was affirmed by Edouard Chavannes and Paul Pelliot, Sinologists and pioneers of the research on Chinese Manichaeism, together with the great Chinese historian Chen Yuan, so it was widely accepted by the public.”⁵ But Lin Wushu pointed out that, “as mentioned above, we believe that the fact that Fodudan came to the court in the first year of Yanzai was only a sign of its official recognition by the Chinese authorities, in other words, the beginning of its public transmission; before that, Manichaeism had been circulating among the Chinese folks for a long time. It is difficult to pin down an accurate time for the entry of Manichaeism to China. But we feel that the Chinese inland had perceived the messages of Manichaeism most probably at the beginning of the fourth century.”⁶ At the beginning of the Tang Dynasty, Manichaeism became a religion open to the public; it was banned in the twentieth year of Kaiyuan during the reign of Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang Dynasty, was resumed under the imperial decree of Emperor Daizong in the third year of Dali (768) after the An-Shi Disturbances, and its temple in Chang’an was probably given with imperial order a horizontal stele of “Temple of Great Clouds and Brightness”. Afterwards, Manichaeism developed extensively in China, with “followers dressed in white cloaks and hats”, called “Yin-Yang men” by the folks. In the third year of Huichang (843), Manichaeism was suppressed again. Emperor Wuzong of the Tang Dynasty issued an imperial decree that “all Manichean temples should be annulled and confiscated to the government. Seventy-two female Manichaen followers died in the capital city. And the Ouigour Manichean followers in this country were banished and more than half of them died”. (“Daqin’s Manicheans” in *Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*) Ever since, the Manichean religion shifted its focus to the folks only, transforming itself into a traditional Chinese folk belief, and

⁴Shen (2010a, b).

⁵Wushu (1987).

⁶Ibid, p. 60.

its development and evolution left a striking impression on the history of Chinese religions. Especially after Manichaeism became a folk Chinese religion, it became more famous and influential due to its involvement in peasant rebellions and social politics.

Though the Silk Road had from time to time been interrupted by conflicts, wars, rebellions and other political reasons, it continued unimpeded thanks to the perseverance and efforts of the merchants and missionaries. After its entry to China, Manichaeism was termed Ming Jiao (Ming Cult or Teaching), Mingzun Jiao (the Revered Brightness Teaching), Moni Jiao, Mouni Jiao, etc., and meanwhile among the common folks it was termed Cai Jiao (Vegetable Cult) or Chicai Jiao (Vegetable Eating Cult). It spread gradually to the northwest, the southeast coastal areas, the Central Plains, etc., particularly flourishing in and around Turpan, and becoming the second largest imported religion next only to Buddhism. Nowadays in Xinjiang and Fujian have been discovered sites and remains of Manichaeism, witnessing the Maritime and Land Silk Roads' accessibility from all directions. Before the year 731, Manichaeism had been able to proselyte and translate sutras freely in China, until it was banned by Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang Dynasty. In the 8th century, Uighurlars founded the Kingdom of Gaochang in Turpan and regarded Manichaeism as their national religion. Because Uighurlars helped the Tang in suppressing the An-Shi Disturbances, the Uighurlar immigrants were allowed to build their own temples since 768; thus, Manichean temples mushroomed in many places. But ever since 840 when Uighurlars' kingdom perished, Manichaeism was banned again, and circulated only among the folks, becoming one of the most well-known folk religions in the Chinese history. It basically died out in 15th century under the high pressure from the Ming Dynasty.

At that time, Manichaeism, which had been mingled with the lower strata of the Chinese society, combined itself with the folk faith and organized activities in the name of pilgrim associations and Jijingshe (Sutra Assembly Society). The documents in the Five Dynasties Era of the Tang Dynasty described the Manicheans as "not eating meat or spicy food, men mixing with women, jumbling together obscenities, and gathering at night and dismissal in the morning", in addition to many other negative impressions. Manichaeism in the Song Dynasty was already termed Mingjiaohui, or the Church of Brightness, spreading widely in the provinces of Zhejiang and Fujian. Seen from the surface of the various depictions of Manichaeism at the time, its followers "eat vegetarian food and serve the devils, particularly in Fuzhou. Their chiefs wear purple hats and broad, decorated clothing; women wear black hats and white dress; Mingjiaohui is the name of the sect." (Hong Mai, *Yijian zhi* or *Record of the Listener*) Yet with regards to its basic doctrinal points, "theory of two substances and three time periods" is its fundamental doctrine; "its classics are under the name of two substances and three time periods. Two substances refer to brightness and darkness, and three time periods refer to the past, the present and the future." (Volume 48 of *Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy*) Ming or Brightness represents goodness, and An or Darkness symbolizes evil. Manichaeism has faith in the God of Light, variously termed as "Father of Light", "the Great Sovereign of brightness", "the Great Revered One of

Brightness” or “the Great God of Brightness”, whose nature is embodied in the Body of Five Lights that is, Light Form, Light Heart, Light Ideas, Light Thoughts and Light Intention. It believes that Light will eventually triumph over Darkness and embrace the eternal world of Light; the transliteration of the name of its god means “Father of Eternity”. Under this supreme god is its major god, or the Messenger of the Great God of Light, who has the power of god and is manifested by pure air, wonderful wind, strength of light, wonderful water and wonderful fire. For this, the Manicheans worship Light which represents the divine, the sun and the moon, the power and wisdom of god, and through the mingling of Manichaeism and the Chinese folk belief in Maitreya, they believe that “Mingwang or the Lord of Light will descend to this world and Maitreya Buddha will also come to this world” and that there would be drastic changes happening to this world. Under the high pressure from the Song Dynasty, the Manicheans participated in the rebellion led by Fang La and was brutally suppressed; however, Manichaeism kept its existence, and became a major force in overthrowing the rule of the Mongolian Yuan Dynasty in the form of Xiangjun or Red-Scarf Army. At the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, the Manichean activities continued under the name of Mingzun jiao or the Mingzun Cult, to be eventually suppressed by the Ming government; it died out in the middle of the Ming Dynasty, and its remaining forces and relevant doctrines were incorporated into Luo Teaching, which was upsurging at the time. The Manichean precepts included the three seals of mouth seal, hand seal and chest seal, and the ten commandments of no worshiping of idols, no lying, no covetousness, no killing, no sexual promiscuity, no theft, no false witness, no evil witchcraft, no disloyalty, and no laziness. The five Manichean hierarchical levels consisted of instructors, instruction supervisors, monastic priests, chosen ones, and listeners. The seven major Manichean sutras included *Sutra of the Root Wisdom that Expounds the Myriads of Phenomena*, *The Precious Treasure of Pure Life Sutra*, *Sutra of the Treasury of Precepts*, the *Esoteric Treasury of Dharmas*, *Sutra of the Verification of the Past*, *Sutra of the Men of Unusual Strength*, and *Sutra of Eulogy and Vows*.

4.1.3 Judaism

The Jews came to China to do business in the Tang Dynasty or even earlier. Most of them came to China along the Silk Road from Central Asia, or through the maritime Silk Road via West Asia, North Africa or India. Since all Jews had faith in Judaism, they brought the religion with them wherever they went. According to Chen Huan, “to know when the Jews came to China is to know when Judaism entered China”.⁷ The Jewish Rabbi documents of the second century AD recorded information about the Silk Road, but the remains of Judaism found on the Silk Road were mostly of the 7th to 14th centuries. Pei Ju’s *Illustrated Records of the Western Regions* of the

⁷Ze (1981a, b).

Sui Dynasty recorded the westward route starting from China, which stated that it “started from Dunhuang, reaching the West Sea, in three separate routes, each with strategic points. The northern route started from Yiwu to the State of Furi and the West Sea via Puleihai tielebu, the Turkic Khan court and the north flowing waters.”⁸ The accurate historical evidence to show the settlement in China of large numbers of Jews could be mainly found in the existence and accommodation of the Jews in Kaifeng City and elsewhere in the Song Dynasty.

Judaism was initially termed “Yicileye”, the transliteration of the word “Israel”; others explained it as in accordance with the decree of Emperor Taizu of Ming, showing that he intended to “soo the farmers and soldiers by giving them a place where they could live a prosperous and contented life, and by acting fairly to all men”.⁹ The ancient Chinese folks termed the Judaism as “Tiao Jin Jiao” (the religion that removes the sinews) and its temples were called Tiao Jin Temples of Worship. With regards to the record and evolution of the Jews in China, Chen Yuan pointed out that “*The History of the Yuan Dynasty* had the earliest Chinese records of the Jews. In “The Record of Emperor Wenzong” in *History of the Yuan Dynasty* was recorded that in the second year of Tianli the imperial decree commanded the Buddhist monks, Taoist priests, Nestorians, Shuhu (Jews), and Dāshumands (Islamic priests) who engage in business must pay taxation according to existing regulations. Shuhu refers to the Jews. *Yuanshi yujie* (*The Explication of Terms in the Yuan Dynasty History*) records that ‘the term Shuhu was changed to Zhuhe’.... Shuhu, or Zhuwu, was also termed Zhuhu.’ As to the term Yicileye, it originated in the middle of the Ming Dynasty. For instance, the term Deya was seen at the end of Ming Dynasty and the beginning of Qing Dynasty. The term Youtai (Jews) was seen after the reign of Emperor Daoguang of the Qing Dynasty. The term Shuhu was seen in the Yuan Dynasty. The term Wotuo in *Yuanshi yiwen zhengbu* (*Supplement of Proof in Translations to the History of the Yuán Dynasty*), also termed as *Jingshi dadian* (*Compendium of Scriptures and Classics*), refers to Youtai (Jews).”¹⁰

The Jews in China developed basically along the Silk Road and its extensions. The Jews who arrived in Kaifeng were those who left the ancient Persia to move eastward via the State of Xixia and other states of the Western Regions, hence the argument that they came from the Western Regions. Still others hold the view that they came from Tianzhu (India), that is, by the maritime Silk Road via India. According to the Stele inscription of the *Rebuilding of the Mosques* in the second of Hongzhi (1489) that contained the documents of Kaifeng Judaism, the Jews “came from Tianzhe, and were on a decreed mission to China”; according to the Stele inscription *Zunchong daojing si ji* (*Record of the Temple Which Honours the Writing of the Eternal Reason*) in the seventh year of Mingde (1512), the Jews “originally came from Tianzhu and the Western Regions”. From the

⁸“Biography of Peiju”, Volume 67 of *The Book of Sui*, Zhonghua Book Company, 1973, p. 1597.

⁹Kong (1986).

¹⁰Ze (1981a, b).

above-mentioned, we get a glimpse of the various routes by which Judaism came to China. Pan Guangdan explained this phenomenon as follows: “the Western Region argument is the argument that the Jews came from Persia, and the Tianzhu argument is that the Jews came from India”.¹¹ These two theories both testify that Judaism did not come to China directly from its native land, but via the Silk Road or the Maritime Silk Road, and the Jews had settled and lived in the countries along the Silk Road such as India before they eventually arrived in China. Thus, the spreading of Judaism in China was closely bound to the Silk Road. And what is particularly worthy of note is the mysterious disappearance of the Jews, a people with strong national and religious consciousness together with their religion, from the Chinese land after their smooth and harmonious localization and assimilation in China, which is an issue worth tracing and pondering in the cultural exchange history of China and the West.

The many versions of the entry time of Judaism to China include mainly Pre-Zhou Dynasty, Zhou Dynasty, Han Dynasty, Tang Dynasty, Song Dynasty, etc. Pre-Zhou Dynasty version had its root in the wording of the stele inscription of *Record of Reconstructing the Mosques*, “at that time, the founding of the religion was, according to textual research, in the year 146 of the Zhou Dynasty. The time when it came to the Patriarch Moses was, according to textual criticism, in the year 613 of the Zhou Dynasty.” But, the stele inscription was only a comparison of the founding time of Judaism and the time of Moses spreading the teaching with that of the Zhou period, without a definite statement that the accurate entry time of Judaism to China was during this period. This argument was put forth by Verna Gradov, the bishop of Russian Eastern Orthodox in the 19th century, in his *The History of Bible in the East* (1880). He believed that “during the era of the Israel Kingdom, the Jews made a long and persistent journey to China, and in the ancient poems of the Jews in China was written Hiram the king of Tyre ‘sending the gifts from the Chinese emperor to Tuowei’, which happened to be in the reign of Emperor Zhao.”¹² Yet it is a conjecture only, without accurate historical records. The argument that Judaism entered China in the Zhou Dynasty was from the stele record of *The Record of Rebuilding the Mosques* in the second year of the reign of Emperor Kangxi (1663): “the religion originated in India, spread to Zhongzhou in the Zhou Dynasty, and temples began to be built in Daliang”; Chapter 49, Verse 12 of the Book of Isaiah in the Old Testament of the *Bible*, too, says that “Behold, these shall come from far: and, lo, these from the north and from the west; and these from the land of Sinim”, in which Sinim is believed to be China. The transliteration of the word Simnim is Xini, which has interpretations differing greatly, such as “qinguo (China), Persia, the land of the south (south of Egypt), Seyeni (the former name of Aswān, a city in the south of Egypt), xun (an old Egyptian city), etc., which was not exactly related to China. The argument of the entry of Judaism in the Han Dynasty was based on *Zunchong daojing si ji* (*Record of the Temple Which Honours the Writing of the*

¹¹Guangdan (1983).

¹²Ze (1981a, b)

Eternal Reason), which says “the religion was founded by Arhat Awu (Abraham), who was the Patriarch of the teaching. And then Mieshe (Moses) spread the teaching, acting as the master of its teachings. After the Turks, the religion came to settle down in China.” Still, no convincing evidence could be found for it. Meanwhile, much evidence supports the entry of Judaism to China in the Tang Dynasty, when the Silk Road was at its prime, with the distinctions between the Desert Road and the Grassland Road or the Land Silk Road and the Maritime Silk Road when it comes to the Silk Road or the Silk and China Road. “If the Sogdians are said to be the medium for the Chinese Western communications and cultural exchange from the two Han dynasties to the Sui and Tang dynasties, then from the Sui and Tang dynasties to the era of Song and Yuan, this role was replaced by the rising Jewish businessmen on the Silk Road. This route of East and West commercial and cultural exchange also extended from the Central Asia-China to covering the area between Europe proper and the Chinese coastal regions.”¹³ The view that Judaism entered China in the Song Dynasty was evidenced, in a very concrete way, by the Jews who settled in the Song capital Bianliang (today’s Kaifeng City), as recorded by the Hongzhi stele of *Record of Rebuilding the Mosques*, “those Jews with the bestowed surnames of Li, An, Ai, Gao, Mu, Zhao, Jin, Zhou, Zhang, Shi, Huang, Li, Nie, Jin, Zhang, Zuo, Bai, etc., around 70 of them, paid tribute of Western cloth to the Song Dynasty. The Emperor said, ‘You have come to our China; revere and preserve the customs of your ancestors, and hand them down at Bianliang (Kaifeng).’ In the first year (Kuiwei) of Longxing in the Song Dynasty (the third year of Dading in the reign of Emperor Shizong of Jin Dynasty), the Levi Wusida (possible transliteration of the Persian word Ustad meaning “teacher”) took the lead of the religion, and Abdal-Allah started to build the mosques.”

Judaism in ancient Kaifeng of China continued to preserve its ancestral orthodox tradition and its scriptures and precepts, emphasizing that “the scriptures should convey the Tao” and so they should “honor the writing of the eternal reason.” The Zhengde stele of *Zunchong daojing si ji (Record of the Temple Which Honors the Writing of the Eternal Reason)* explained that “it is often said that the scriptures should convey the Tao, yet what is the Tao? The daily and the habitual, the principle followed by people of both the past and the present. Thus, the Tao resides in all things and at all time; anywhere could be located the Tao, which could be as magnanimous as the Three Cardinal Principles and the Five Constant Virtues, or as trivial as the tiniest of things. However, without the scriptures, the Tao cannot exist; without the Tao, the scriptures can never go far. Suppose there was no scripture, the Tao has no means to be carried, and people, purposeless, would not know where to go, ending up in wild talks and dark acts. So, the Tao of the sages and worthies lies in their six classics to manifest the Tao to the coming generations, lasting till today and to the countless coming ages.... All across the world, those who profess the religion, without exception, would revere the scriptures and honor the Tao.”

¹³Meicun (1991)

Judaism in China had its traditional Ten Commandments of Moses combined with the Chinese culture and customs, with the ten precepts of revering the Sovereign Heaven (reverence of God), keeping the fast (or the Sabbath day), eating sheep and cattle meat with sinews removed, practicing marriage within the clans, no eating of pork, male circumcision, filial piety, observance of the Three Cardinal Principles and Five Constant Virtues, no molding of idols, and believing in no demonic magic. The Jewish rituals in China centered on the chanting of the scriptures, stressing “the Tao of honoring heaven and worshiping suffices to manifest the implications and mysteries of the ancestral Tao. Yet the Tao must be rooted in the Islamic worshiping” (the Hongzhi stele of *Record of Rebuilding the Mosques*). The Islamic worship required the adherents to fast, bathe, purify the heart, and cleanse the body before the worship, with specific stipulations about the “advancing, retreating, rising, descending and kneeling” during the worship. Since the Zhangjiaotou (head of the religion) of Judaism in Kaifeng wore a blue hat, the followers too wore blue hats during worship; hence, the lay people called them Blue Hat Huihui (Hui with blue hats); besides, their meeting halls were also called qing zhen si (Temple of Purity and Truth or mosques), so Judaism was often confused with Islam at the time. The Chinese authorities were adopting an attitude of openness and tolerance towards them at the time, making them self-consciously merge into the Chinese society and culture; the Jews gradually broke the ban of “Endogamy”, and inter-ethnic marriages became increasingly popular. These Jews did not experience in China the kind of discrimination and marginalization as they did in other countries, so their centripetal force was strengthened, and they started to identify with the Confucian culture, by educationally taking part in the imperial exams and politically taking official positions. By and by, their traditional religious culture weakened and eventually was lost, and during the Qing Dynasty, all of it was assimilated by the Chinese culture, with no trace of it left.

During this period of time, Judaism also spread to Guangzhou, Luoyang, Dunhuang, Ningbo, Quanzhou, Yangzhou, Beijing, Nanjing, Ningxia, etc., only to have the same fate with the Kaifeng Judaism, that is, being assimilated by the Chinese culture and losing eventually all their original religious and cultural traditions. The single case of Judaism being assimilated completely into the Chinese culture was not only due to the perfect inter-fusion and tolerance of the Chinese culture, but it was to some extent related to the fact that the Jews in China was totally isolated with the Jews outside of China with no connections whatsoever. After 1840, some Jews entered China again, active in Harbin, Tianjin and Shanghai, but they came mainly for commercial and political reasons, and their dialogue and communications with the Chinese society and culture could never be compared with those Jews who came in ancient Chinese history. Therefore, the Judaism that has reappeared in the modern and contemporary China is the religion of those foreign immigrant Jews or refugees who reside in China.

4.2 Chinese Buddhism

Buddhism, now the largest religion in China, is the most typical example of a foreign religion that became a Chinese religion after having been integrated into the Chinese culture and having blazed new trails. Buddhism originated in Indian culture, as a typical reflection of the Eastern wisdom. After its entry to China, it manifested elements of Chinese culture and took on an entirely new look, and having been promoted overseas as Chinese culture, it had a decisive influence on the Buddhism of countries like Japan, Korea and Vietnam. Fo (in Sanskrit Buddha, with transliterations of Futu, or Futuo) is the abbreviated form of Fotuo, meaning “the awakened one”; “attaining Buddhahood” means “enlightenment”. Later, “Fo” became the reverent title of Shakyamuni (in Hinayana Buddhism), including all with perfect enlightenment and practice (in Mahayana Buddhism). So, Fo was not originally a name of the gods; instead, the true connotation of the term “Fotuo” is the “enlightened one”, meaning “to enlighten sentient beings and spread the Tao to all living creatures”. “Attaining Buddhahood” means “juewu (being enlightened)”, of which the jue means the instant clarification of the heart, and wu means the eventual awakening after the comprehension process of careful deliberation and contemplation.

4.2.1 *The Entry of Buddhism to China*

When Zhang Qian traveled westward to Darouzhi, he began to hear of the country of India, and “the teaching of the Buddha”. With the opening up of the Silk Road, Buddhism entered China from India. The earliest record of its time of entry from the Western Regions to China was the first year of Yuanshou (2 B. C.) in the reign of Emperor Aidi of the Western Han Dynasty. Later on, there was also the version of Cai Yin and Qin Jing who went to India to seek the Dharma, and welcomed the Indian monks Kasyapa Matanga and Dharmaratna to Luoyang City; and since the white horses carried the sutras on their back, the White Horse Temple was built. At that time, the Western Regions were a hot spot for the dissemination of Buddhism, and many senior monks went to spread Buddhism in China’s inland across the Silk Road of the Western Regions, contributing to the popularity of Buddhism in the Central Plains. For instance, Kumarajiva (344–409), whose ancestral hometown was India, was invited from Qiuci (the present-day Kuche of Xinjiang) to Chang’an and revered as “Guoshi (Imperial Preceptor)”. Under the invitation of Emperor Wudi of the Liang Dynasty, the eminent Indian monk Paramārtha (Zhendi) arrived in the South Sea (Guangzhou) to transmit the teachings of Buddhism in the first year of Datong (546). Around this time, the monks of the Western Regions who came to China via the Silk Road also included the Parthians An Qing and An Xuan, Lokakṣema from Darouzhi, Fotucheng from Qiuci, Jue Xian from Northern India, Bodhidharma from Southern India, etc., many of whom became well-known translators skilled in translating sutras and commenting on the Dharma.

The wide spread of Buddhism in China was closely related to the Chinese going out of the country to embrace the Buddhist teachings at the time. So the Silk Road was also the road for the Chinese to go westward to search for Buddhist scriptures, thus echoing and interacting with the monks from the Western Regions traveling eastward to teach the Buddhist scriptures. The documented first person to arrive in India was Chengguangzi who left from Niaoshu shan (Weiyuan of Gansu Province) in the tenth year (205) of Emperor Xiandi of the Han Dynasty; the first Chinese monk to set out westward via the Silk Road was Zhu Shixing who braved the west sands in the fifth year of Ganlu (260) in the reign of Cao Cao of the State of Wei. Later in 399 AD (during the reign of Emperor An of the Jin Dynasty), Fa Xian (344–420) and others set out from Chang'an to seek the Indian Buddhist teachings westward through the drifting sands; after fifteen years and across over 30 countries, they returned with numerous sutras, translated more than a million lines of the Buddhist scriptures, and recorded what they had seen and heard in the book *Foguo ji* (*A Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms*); this significant cultural event became the focus of the world attention. Fa Xian traveled westward along the land Silk Road and returned eastward through the Maritime Silk Road, thus becoming the first “Overseas Returnee” in Chinese history. The travelers to the west around this time also included Zhu Fahu, Zhi Meng, etc. In 629 A. D. (during the Zhenguan Period in the reign of Emperor Taizong of the Tang Dynasty), Xuanzang (602–664) crossed the national border without an official permission to go westward to India for scriptures, and experienced untold hardships and dangers on route for a total of 17 years; having returned in 645 A. D. with more than 600 volumes of Buddhist scriptures, he spent his whole life in spreading the Dharma and translating the scriptures. The sutras and commentaries he translated totaled 75 volumes and 1,335 fascicles, topping the sutra translation activities at the time. Xuanzang initiated the Faxiang school and wrote the *Great Tang Records on the Western Regions*; with innumerable great achievements and outstanding feats, he became one of the immortal names in the history of world culture. Besides, Yijing (635–713) and other Chinese monks too left moving stories of traveling westward for Buddhist teachings and returning east to translate the sutras. Of particular note is the fact that Master Xuanzang's westward seeking of Buddhist sutras has become the historical root of the popular Chinese classical novel *Journey to the West*.

It can be said that the Silk Road is the “Mahayana” (Great Vehicle) that enabled the entry of Buddhism to China, and the transmission of Buddhism to and fro also added liveliness and spirituality to the Silk Road itself. “The Buddhist culture represented the first time for a foreign culture to enter China on a massive scale. After its entry, it was soon reformed and absorbed by the native cultures of China, constituting a major component of traditional Chinese culture.”¹⁴ Through the Silk Road, Buddhism rooted and flowered in China, enhancing considerably the openness and inclusive capacity of the Chinese culture.

¹⁴Shen (2010a, b).

4.2.2 *The Three Systems of Chinese Buddhism*

There were roughly three routes for the Buddhist entry into China. The first one, the Northern Buddhism, popularly known as Mahayana Buddhism, entered mainly the Han China and was thus termed “Han Chinese Buddhism”, spreading from China to countries like Korea, Japan, Vietnam, etc. In this way, the span and influence of the Chinese religious culture came into being, which contributed to the cultural sphere of Chinese Buddhism or Han Chinese Buddhism? The second, Southern Buddhism, termed by the Mahayana School as the Hinayana, called itself the Theravada School of Buddhism, which spread mainly in the Dai ethnic area of Yunnan Province and had close links with the adjacent countries such as Burma, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Sri Lanka, etc. The third one is Tibetan Buddhism, popularly called “Lama jiao (Lamaism)”; it mainly covered areas such as China’s Tibet and Inner Mongolia, hence deemed as Mongolian-Tibetan Buddhism; its main body also belonged to the Northern Buddhist branch, formed through the combination of Nepalese Buddhism and the Bon religion of native Tibet. Of the three systems of Buddhism, the Northern Buddhism developed with China as its center, spreading to neighboring countries like Japan, North Korea, South Korea, Vietnam, etc., becoming the most typical example of Chinese Buddhism. With the translation into Chinese of the Buddhist canons, the Han Buddhism of the Northern School developed into the “Chinese Language Buddhism”, mainly circulating in the areas inhabited mainly by the Han nationality.

The three systems of Chinese Buddhism represented the all-round convergence of Buddhism with China’s society and culture, demonstrating the nationalization and localization of Buddhism in China, with tremendous reforms and revolutions in its language, ideology, rituals and customs. The Buddhist logic of thinking, moral ethics and its practice contributed, in a manifest way, to the substantiation and richness of the Chinese spirit and ideology. In this aspect, Ren Jiyu had a profound analysis, “it is the importation of Buddhism that changed the visage of the School of Li in the Song and Ming dynasties and constructed the Confucian ideological system in its totality. And it is also due to the dissemination of Buddhism that the Taoist religion absorbed, in some ways, elements of Buddhism, forming the phase of the Buddhist-Taoist mutual influencing. Chinese Buddhism developed and grew in China, and had become part of the traditional Chinese thought.... With the religious activities of Buddhism, the Chinese music, dancing, painting, architecture, literature, etc. had been enriched. The spread of Buddhism facilitated the cultural exchange between China and her neighboring countries, deepening their understanding of each other.”¹⁵

¹⁵Jiyu (1981).

4.2.3 *Northern Buddhism*

Northern Buddhism developed during Wei-Jin and Southern and Northern Dynasties of China (3rd to 6th centuries A. D.), when Buddhism completed the transition from the Indian Buddhism that stressed “the Buddha Dharma as the supreme Dharma” to the Chinese Buddhism marked by “Without the support of the sovereign, it is difficult to sustain the Buddhist practice”. In the initial years after Buddhism entered China from India, some Buddhist monks with a sense of cultural superiority did not want submit to the Chinese imperial politics, sticking to the Indian Sramanas’ revolutionary ideas and preserving the supreme status of Buddhism; they did not want to yield to the worldly authority of the Chinese imperial class and advocated the argument of “Sramanas should not pay homage to the Monarch”, believing that the monk-hood granted them freedom of “going out of the family, and not bowing to the emperor”, and no necessity to follow the Chinese rules. This stalemate continued for several hundred of years, and this in-adaptability to the Chinese cultural climate resulted in the slow and difficult development of Buddhism; not recognized by the Chinese imperial powers and not accepted by the Chinese public, Buddhism was actually still marginalized in the Chinese society. The localization of Buddhism in China in the political sense started in the fourth century, when the first step of the Buddhist localization was its urgent need to change its basic attitude to Chinese politics. In the fourth century, Monk Dao’an (314–385) of the Eastern Jin Dynasty realized the awkward situation of antagonism between Buddhism and the Chinese imperial power, believing that the avoidance of politics and retreating to the forests would never be the best way of developing Buddhism. In view of this, he changed the mentality of detachment wherein the Buddha’s law was employed to counter the imperial law and defy the imperial power, reminding the Buddhist world of the special relationship between religion and politics, a striking fact of China, and persuading the Buddhists to adopt the attitude of “Sramanas paying homage to the monarch”, hence the budding of “Engaged Buddhism” and “Dharma Masters for the Society”. Buddhism was then like a fish regaining the water, for it caught hold of the critical point in improving the relationship between Chinese religion and politics, and thus its “promotion of the Dharma” was able to develop smoothly. When Buddhism was declining in its native land India, it was revived and flourished in China, gaining a new life. Admittedly, it was difficult for such a relationship between religion and politics to be settled once and for all. Though Emperor Wudi of the Liang Dynasty (reign from 502 to 549) ever abandoned his earthly status and became ordained four times in Tongtai Temple, he also had a tight control of Buddhism, formulating precepts such as no alcoholic drinking and no eating of meat. Due to political and economic reasons, this period also witnessed the disastrous incidents of “Sanwuyizong (three wu and one zong, referring to four emperors) that tried to wipe out Buddhism”, namely, the “Dharma Disasters” caused by the Emperor Taiwudi of Wei (reign from 423 to 451), Emperor Wudi of Northern Zhou (reign from 560 to 578),

Emperor Wuzong of Tang (reign from 840–846) and Emperor Shizong of Later Zhou (reign from 954 to 959).

In the period of the Three Kingdoms, Borexue or the Study of Prajna emerged, outshining all other schools, and representing the entry of the pure theoretic Buddhist ideas into the Chinese field of thought, hence the possibility of the mutual dialogues and communications. In the Eastern Jin Dynasty, the Study of Prajna branched into the so-called “Liujia qizong (Six Schools and Seven Sects)”, namely, Dao'an's Benwu Sect, Zhu Fakun and Zhu Fatai's Benwu yizong (the two combined as one), Zhi Daolin's Jise Sect, Yu Fakai's Shihan Sect, Daoyi's Huanhua Sect, Zhi Mindu's Xinwu Sect, and Yu Daosui's Yuanhui Sect. Chinese wisdom was infused into the Sinicization of Buddhism in China, and the Buddhist Dharma and Zen wits were then transformed into the Study of Wisdom. This “Sinicization” enabled the Buddhist development to reach its zenith in the early Tang Dynasty. Moreover, the “Sinicized” Buddhism grasped well the wonderful charm of the Chinese study of xinxing (heart and nature), and only in this way could there be the possibility of exploring the “Chinese Buddha Nature Treatise”.

The Sinicization of Buddhism in the cultural sense was attributed to the breakthroughs made by Master Huineng (638–713), the Sixth Chan Patriarch and others, who founded the typical Chinese Buddhist sects through the thorough understanding and harmonious blending of the Buddhist doctrines; by so doing, Chinese Buddhism and the ancient Indian Buddhist schools went separate ways, and the Chinese Buddhist sects developed independently, with Buddhism actually carried forward and greatly enhanced in the Chinese context. Chinese Buddhism witnessed in China the so-called bazong (Eight Schools), namely, the Tiantai School, the Sanlun School, the Vinaya School, the Faxiang School, the Pure Land School, the Huayan School, Chan School and the Esoteric School successively. The Tiantai School was founded by Master Zhiyi (538–597) who resided in Tiantai Mountain, and this Sui Dynasty Buddhist school was the first Chinese Buddhist school in the history of Chinese Buddhism. It was also termed Fahua School for its reverence of Fahua Jing (the Lotus Sutra). Zhiyi employed the concept of Zhiguan (Cessation and Meditation), characterized by the focus of the purified mind on one point, to encompass Buddhist theories and practices, advocating the “Sandi yuanrong”, or the perfect inter-fusion of the threefold truths of Emptiness, Provisional Existence and the Middle Path. He thought that “human nature was inherent with both goodness and evil”, and that in transforming evil into goodness and in view of the Yinian sanqian (Three Thousand Realms in a Single Thought Moment), the Cessation and Meditation method should be practiced. In the Panjiao (doctrinal classification) of Buddhist classics, he put forth the theory of wushi bajiao (Five Periods and Eight Teachings). The Five Periods were the chronological classifications of The Period of Avatamsaka, during which the Buddha taught the Avatamsaka Sutra; The Period of Deer Park when the Buddha taught the Agamas; The Period of Vaipulya when the Buddha taught the Fangdeng jin (Sutras of Universal Doctrines); The Period of Prajna when the Buddha explained the Prajnaparamita-sutras; and The Period of Dharma-pundarika and Nirvana, when the Buddha delivered the Lotus Sutra and the Nirvana Sutra. The Eight Teachings

consisted of the Fourfold Methods and the Four Doctrines. The Fourfold Methods, according to the teaching methods of the Buddha, are classified into Sudden Teaching (the doctrine of sudden enlightenment to Buddhahood as stated in the Avatamsaka Sutra), Gradual Teaching (the staged cultivation from the Agamas to the Prajnaparamita-sutras), Secret Teaching (with doctrines echoing the individual practitioner's inner yearnings), and Variable Teaching (the various understandings of the doctrines). The Four Doctrines, according to the content of the Buddha's teaching, consisted of Tripitaka Teaching (the Sutra, Vinaya and Abhidhamma of the Hinayana School), Shared Teaching (the Prajnaparamita-sutras that suited both refined and popular taste and had appropriate difficulty), Distinctive Teaching (with Bodhisattvas particularly teaching the Fangdeng sutras), and Perfect Teaching (the perfection and harmony of teachings of the Lotus Sutra). Traced to its roots and fountainheads, the lineage of the school was recorded as Nāgārjuna, Huiwen, Huisi, Zhiyi, Guanding, Zhiwei, Huiwei, Xuanlang, Zhanran, etc.

The Sanlun School, or "Three Treatise" school was founded by Ji Zang (546–623) of the Sui Dynasty". His secular surname was An, and his ancestral hometown was Anxi, hence called "Hu Ji zang". The School mainly studied the three Mādhyamaka treatises of Mahayana Buddhism in ancient India, that is, Nāgārjuna's "Treatise on the Middle Way", "Treatise on the Twelve Gates" and "Hundred-Verse Treatise". For its emphasis on the "nature of all Dharmas as emptiness", it was also called Faxing (Dharma Nature) School. Ji Zang wrote Sanlun Xuanyi ("Profound Meaning of the Three Treatises"), Dasheng Xuanlun ("Treatise on the Mystery of the Mahāyāna"), Fahua Xuanlun ("Treatise on the Mystery of the Lotus Sutra"), Fahua yishu ("Commentary on the Lotus Sutra"), Zhonglun Shu ("Commentary on the Middle Way Treatise"), and Erdi Yi ("Meaning of the Two Truths"). Erdi refers to the conventional truth and the ultimate truth, in reference to the truth qua instruction (jiao di) and truths qua standpoints (yu di). The myriads of things in the world came into being through dependent origination, and therefore were illusory and insubstantial; the sages were awakened to their empty nature and obtain the ultimate truth, and the average men regard them as truly existing and sink to the confinement of the conventional truth. Yet the two truths have the same root of reasoning, thus "both being two and non-two". The truth of the world is neither being nor non-being, non-real birth, and non-real termination, and thus is called "the Middle Path". Ji Zang explains the Middle Path by using the "eight extremes", that is, the antinomies of production and cessation, eternity and annihilation, sameness and difference, and coming and going, which constitute eight misconceptions of sentient beings (The "Contemplation of Causality" in *Commentary on the Zhonglun*). The so-called Zhong means "the true form of the middle way", and the true forms of the Dharmas, if being away from the antinomies of production and cessation, eternity and annihilation, sameness and difference, and coming and going, would consummate at the Middle Path. The Sanlun School later declined due to Emperor Tiaozong of Tang's support of the Faxiang School. In 625 A.D., Sanlun School was transmitted to Japan by the Korean monk Hui Guan, and later his two disciples Zhiwei and Daoqi developed it into the two branches of Yuanxing Temple and Da'an Temple.

Lv Zong, the Vinaya school, Nanshan School or the Nanshan Vinaya School was founded by Dao Xuan, a native of Dantu of Runzhou (in today's Jiangsu Province) in the Tang Dynasty; the school was famous for its study and observance of the monastic precepts. Because Dao Xuan, who resided in Zhongnan Mountain, concentrated on promoting the Four Part Vinaya, built the Vinaya Altars, formulated the precepts and rituals for ordination; hence, it was called the Nanshan Vinaya School. Dao Xuan composed the *Sifen lü shanfan buque xingshi chao* (Abridged and Explanatory Commentary on the Four Part Vinaya), *Bhikṣuṇipratimokṣasūtra* (sifen lü bīqiū jiē běn), and *An Abridged and Explanatory Karmavacana of the Four Part Vinaya*; the three were generally termed “The Three Great Classics of the Nanshan Vinaya School”. At that time, Fa Li and Huai Su's sects also emphasized *The Four Part Vinaya*, thus forming the “Three Vinaya Schools”. The basic doctrine of the Vinaya School was to regard the “mind-dharma” taught in Buddhism as the “essence of precepts” necessary for warding off evils; the warding off evils has the “observance of prohibitive precepts (zhi chí)” characterized by “abstaining from doing all evils”, and promoting goodness included the observance of exhortative precepts (zuó chí) that upheld “practicing all good”. Afterwards, Jian Zhen (688–763) transmitted the Vinaya School to Japan during the era of Tian Bao (742–756) in the Tang Dynasty. In 755, precept altars were built in the Todai-ji Temple, Nara, the vinaya Dharma was taught and practiced, and the regulations of ordination and taking precepts were thus initiated in Japan. The emergence of the Vinaya School led to the strict observance of the precepts, resulting in the Five Precepts, Ten Precepts, 250 Precepts for the Bhiksus, and 348 Precepts for the Bhiksunis. In the 20th century, Li Shutong (1880–1942), ordained as Master Hongyi, also chose the path of cultivation by studying precepts.

Faxiang School, or Consciousness-only School was founded by the Tang Dynasty Tripitaka Master monk Xuan Zang (602–664), who brought the sutras from India back to China, together with his disciple Kui Ji (632–682). Because it advocated the “Three Forms” of “Not having an independent nature, not a nature of its own, but being constituted of elements”, “the form that maintains the seeming to be real”, and the “the complete and perfect real form” to explain the nature and form of the myriads of existences, it was called “Faxiang zong (Dharma Form School)”. Since Xuan Zang compiled and translated the *Vidyā-matṛāṣiddhi śāstra*, emphasizing “the myriad dharmas are consciousness only”, it was called “Consciousness Only School”; meanwhile, Master Kui Ji resided in the Cì'en (mercy and kindness) Temple and was titled Master Cì'en, so the school was also called “Cì'en School”. In the first year of Zhenguan (627) in the Tang Dynasty, Master Xuan Zang set out westward to India, and in the 19th year of Zhenguan (645), returned to Cháng'an with 520 suitcases of sutras, 657 texts altogether. Having resided in Hongfu Temple, he then moved to the Great Cì'en Temple, where he devoted himself to translating the Buddhist sutras into Chinese, with 75 texts of sutras and commentaries and 1335 fascicles; he also wrote *The Great Tang Record of the Western Regions* in 12 fascicles, on which was based Wu Changling's zaju (mixed drama or play) *Tang Dynasty Tripitaka Master Obtaining Sutras from Western Heaven* in the Yuan Dynasty and Wu Cheng'en's popular novel *Journey to the West* in the Ming

Dynasty. Xuan Zang reaped tremendous acclaim for his obtaining the sutras from the western heaven, and had a large number of disciples, the worthy ones including Kui Ji, Yuan Ce, Pu Guang, Fa Kong, Shen Tai, Jing Mai, etc. Kui Ji wrote *Commentary on the Vidya-matrāṣiddhi śāstra*, *Brief Commentary on the Yogācāryabhūmi-śāstra*, *Commentary and Notes on Nyāyapraveśa*, *Commentary and Notes on Miscellaneous Collections*, etc., gaining him a title of “Master of Hundred Notes and Annotations”. Kui Ji’s disciples included Hui Zhao, Zhi Tong, Zhi Da, etc. Based on the classics of *Sūtra of the Profound Secret Unraveled*, *Yogācāryabhūmi-śāstra*, *The Thirty Verses of Vasubandhu*, etc., the School inherited the doctrinal system of the Indian Yogacara School, advocated the use of consciousness-only methods to have insight into the three forms of nirvāṇa, no nirvāṇa, and the absence of both, or the “middle way” of neither, in order that Buddhahood can be achieved through the conversion of consciousness into wisdom. Its doctrines projected the theory of “Eight Consciousnesses” to expound and prove “Only consciousness, no objects”, that is, through cultivating the eight consciousnesses of eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, mind, ego-consciousness, and storehouse-consciousness, one can gain wisdom perfect in action and bringing blessing to self and others, wisdom of mystic insight into all things and removal of ignorance and doubt, wisdom of the equal Buddha nature of all beings, and wisdom as the great perfect mirror reflecting all things. But this kind of genuine and original yet complicated teachings did not suit the Chinese taste, so the School developed slowly, declining after three generations, and exerting minimal influence on the Chinese ideological history. In the fourth year of Yong Hui (653) in the Tang Dynasty, the Japanese monk Dao Zhao acknowledged Xuan Zang as his teacher, and transmitted the School to Japan; Zhi Tong and Zhi Da also had preached the Consciousness-Only doctrines in Japan.

The first patriarch-ship of Pure Land Buddhism was attributed to Hui Yuan (334–416) of the Eastern Jin Dynasty, yet the school was actually founded by Shan Dao (613–681) of the Tang Dynasty. Hui Yuan used to propagate the Prajna studies and Chan in Donglin Temple of Mount Lushan, and in collaboration with 18 worthies, he founded the White Lotus Society, for the cultivation of the pure karma, the promotion of the Dharma Gate of Amitabha’s pure land, and the vow to be reborn in the pure land; hence, it was called the Pure Land School or the Lotus School. Afterwards, monk Tan Luan (476–542) of the Eastern Wei devoted himself to the Pure Land, and wrote *Commentary on The Treatise on Rebirth in the Pure Land*, *Brief Treatise On Meaning of The Pure Land of Peace and Bliss*, *Verse In Praise of Amitabha Buddha*, etc.; he advocated abandoning the hard way of that relied on self-power and choosing the easy way of salvation by resorting to the power of the vow of Amitabha, that is, single-mindedly chanting the name of Amitabha Buddha would ensure rebirth in the Pure Land of happiness and bliss after death. Tan Luan moved to Xuanzhong Temple in his senior years and was revered as “shenluan (divine phoenix)”. Later on, monk Dao Chuo (562–654) during the Sui and Tang dynasties changed his belief to the Pure Land due to his influence by the inscriptions of the Monk Tan Luan Stele. He tried to convert people to faith in the Pure Land in Xuanzhong Temple, chanted the name of

Amitabha daily, and wrote *Anthology of Peace and Happiness* to expound the Pure Land doctrines; he was called the “Chan Master of the West River”. Dao Chuo’s disciple Shan Dao transferred to Guangming Temple of Chang’an, and formally founded the Pure Land School of Buddhism. He was revered as the “incarnation of Amitabha” when he was preaching the doctrines. Having preached “the Dharma Gate of the Pure Land over thirty years”, he wrote *Commentary on Contemplation of Infinite Life Sutra*, *Reverent Praise of the Rebirth in the Pure Land*, *The Dharma Gate of Contemplation and Chanting*, *In Praise of the Lotus Sutra*, *In Praise of the Prajna Vehicle*, etc. The pure Land school regarded as its major classics the sanjing yilun (Three Sutras and One Treatise) of *Sutra of Infinite Life*, *Contemplation of Sutra of Infinite Life*, *Amitabha Sutra*, and *Treatise on Rebirth in the Pure Land*. The School’s activities of faith centered on the “chanting of Amitabha’s name”, complemented by Buddha-remembrance through contemplating the concept [of Buddha], and reality-aspect (real mark) Buddha-remembrance; the Pure Land practice included the proper courses of reading and reciting, observation, worshipping, invoking the (Buddha’s) name, and praising and offerings. Because it regarded the simple and concise faith practices of chanting Amitabha’s name and the vow to be reborn in the Western Pure Land (Land of Ultimate Bliss) as its core beliefs, it was popularly accepted by the people, attracted many followers, developed very fast, and became a popular Buddhist sect in the lower strata of the Chinese society. The lineage of patriarchs of the School was successively Hui Yuan, Shan Dao, Cheng Yuan, Fa Zhao, Shao Kang, Yan Shou, Sheng Chang, etc. After the Mid-Tang, there was the tendency of merging the Pure Land School with the Chan School, and the combined practice of Chan and Pure Land came into being. In the ninth century, Pure Land Buddhism was transmitted to Japan, and in the twelfth century, the Japanese Yuan Kong (Fa Ran) founded the Japanese Pure Land School of Buddhism.

The Huayan school was thus named after the *Huayan jing* (Avatamsaka-sūtra or Flower Adornment Sutra); its real founder was Fa Zang (643–712), whose literary name was Xian Shou, and the school was also called “Xian Shou School”. The full name of *Huayan jing* was *Flower Ornament Sutra with Greatly Proper and Extensive Discourses by the Buddhas*. Its basic doctrine was the belief that the world was the manifestation of Vairocana Buddha, hence “a minuscule dust reflects the world; an instant encompasses eternity”, from which was derived the theories of “the dharmadhātu”, “Sudden Awakening to the Buddha’s Land”, etc. The successors of this school were Du Shun, Zhi Yan, Fa Zang, Cheng Guan and Zong Mi, called “The Five Patriarchs of Huayan”. Dun Shun (or Fa Shun, 557–640) was revered as the first Patriarch of the school, whose writings included *Huayan fajie guanmen* (Commentary on the Huayan dharma-realm meditation), *Huayan wujiao zhiguan* (Contemplation in the Five Teachings of Huayan), etc. He advocated the practice of “the Conduct of Bodhisattva Universal Sage” according to the *Flower Adornment Sutra*. Recognized and appreciated by Emperor Taizong of the Tang Dynasty, he was titled “Master Du Shun”, “Holy Monk”, “The Venerable with a Sovereign’s Heart”, etc. The Second Patriarch Zhi Yan (602–668) was ordained as a monk at Zhi Xiang temple in Mount Zhongnan at the age of 12,

practiced under the guidance of Dun Shun, later learned and absorbed widely all good qualities from others, so as to thoroughly expound the *Flower Adornment Sutra*. His writings included over 20 works of *Huayan jing souxuan ji* (The Record of Searching for the Profundities of the Flower Adornment Sutra), *Huayan Kongmuzhang*, *Questions and Answers of the Fifty Essentials of Huayan*, *One Vehicle Ten Mysterious Gates of the Huayan*, etc. He developed the theory of the huayan jing (Huayan Sutra) into the theory of huayan zong (Huayan school). In his later years, he resided in Yunhua Temple, and was revered as “Master Zhixiang” and “Venerable Yunhua”. Fa Zang, the disciple of Zhi Yan, titled “Master Xian Shou” and “National Precept Kangzang”, was the third Patriarch of the huayan School. He was highly esteemed by Empress Wu Zetian, Emperor Zhongzong and Emperor Ruizong, with an imperially granted title of “Vinaya Master Xianshou” by Empress Wu Zetian. His works included over one hundred volumes, for instance, *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* (The Record of Probing for the Profundities of the Flower Adornment Sutra), *Record of Awakening of Faith*, *The Principles of the Flower Adornment Sutra*, *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* (Essay on the Classified Meaning of the Teaching of the One Vehicle of the Avatamsaka), *Huayan jing yihai baimen* (Hundred Gates to the Sea of Ideas of the *Flower Adornment Sutra*), *Treatise on the Golden Lion*, etc. His doctrinal exploration systematized the Huayan theories, facilitating the maturity of the Huayan system. Cheng Guan (738–839), the fourth Patriarch, used to do cloud wandering to many places to visit famous mountains and temples. His efforts contributed to the heyday thriving of the Huayan School. His works were said to be over 300 volumes, including *Commentary on the Flower Adornment Sutra*, *Sub-commentaries on the Flower Adornment Sutra*, *Zhenyuan Hua Yan Sutra Commentary*, *Mirror of the Mysteries of the Universe of the Flower Adornment Sutra*, *Brief Analysis of the Flower Adornment Sutra*, etc. He was titled “Master Qingliang”, “Master Datong qingliang”, etc. Zongmi (780–841), the fifth Patriarch, titled “Master Guifeng”, formulated the combined development of Huayan and Chan. He was posthumously titled “Chan Master Dinghui” by Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang Dynasty, leaving works such as *Notes and Commentaries on the Practices and Vows of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra in the Flower Adornment Sutra*, *Meditative Approaches to the Huayan Dharmadhatu* (Zhu Huayan Fajie Guanmen), and *Essay on the Origin of Man of the Huayan*. The core doctrine of the Huayan School was the theory of the “Infinite Dependent Co-arising of the Dharma Realm” used to expound the order of the universe and the relationship between the myriads of things; it used the Ten Mysterious Gates to explain the Dependent Co-arising of the Dharma Realm, including “Simultaneity (tongshi juzu xiangying men or The mutual creation of any one thing and all things simultaneously)”, “Indra’s Net (Yintuoluo wang fajie men, or any one phenomenon capturing and reflecting the images of all phenomena)”, “Manifestation (yinmi xianliao jucheng men or the revelation of any one thing relying on the concealment of all other things)”, “Diminutiveness (weixixiangrong anlimen or the smallest number encapsulating infinity)”, “Time (shishi gefa yicheng men or despite the division of time into past, present, and future, from the perspectives of each of the three temporal periods, different sets of the past, present, and future can be

delineated)”, “Centrality (zhuban yuanming jude men or each of the aforementioned categories explaining and validating all the others)”, “Abundance (yiduo xiangrong butong men or the number ‘one’ being meaningful only in distinction to ‘many’, and vice versa)”, “Identity (zhufa xiangji zizai men or any one thing defined by all other things, and vice versa)”, “Skillful Completion by the Turning of Mind-Only (Weixin huizhuan shancheng men)”, and “Analogy (tuoshi xianfa shengjie men or the abstruse can be made known by analogies that draw on the plain and the obvious)”.¹⁶ The Dependent Co-arising of the Dharma Realm denotes The Six Characteristics of Dependent Co-arising, that is, the perfect inter-fusion of whole and parts, unity and diversity, entirety and (its) fractions. The “Dharma Realm” is manifested in the “Four Dharma Realms” of the Realm of Things (the phenomenal realm), the Realm of Principle (the noumenal realm), the Realm of the Noninterference between Principle and Things, and the Realm of the Noninterference of All Things. After the Yuan Dynasty, the “Huayan sects” began to emerge, and the Huayan School was still active in the Ming and Qing dynasties. The Huayan teaching was transmitted to Silla by the Sillan Yixiang, a disciple of Zhiyan, it was in turn transmitted to Japan by the Sillan monk Shenxiang in 740, and the Japanese monk Liangbian officially founded the Japanese Huayan School at Todaiji Temple in Nara.

The Chan School is a very typical school of Chinese Buddhism, characterized by a special focus on Chan meditation; it expounds its doctrinal theories and cultivation practices, hence the name Chan. The cultural Sinicization of Buddhism was attributed to Huineng (638–713), the Sixth Patriarch of Chan Buddhism, and others, who founded the Chan School, the Buddhist school with typical Chinese features through a thorough understanding and a digestive fusion of the Buddhist doctrines, giving rise to the separate development of Chinese Buddhism and Indian Buddhism; as a result, the different schools of Chinese Buddhism developed independently and Buddhism was carried forward and greatly enhanced in China. Chan is the abbreviated Sanskrit transliteration of Dhyana, and “Samadhi” was originally deemed a part of the yoga practice in Indian Buddhism, with the meaning of “contemplation” and “abandoning evils”, generally translated as “quite meditation”; “Samadhi” refers to “quietude and the extinction of miscellaneous thoughts” and obtaining the transcendental and pure realm of contemplation through the calming of the heart in sitting meditation and a single-minded focus. In terms of its school lineage, Chan Buddhism had a series of six patriarchs, that is, the First Patriarch Bodhidharma, the Second Patriarch Hui Ke, the Third Patriarch Ceng Can, the Fourth Patriarch Dao Xin, the Fifth Patriarch Hong Ren and the Sixth Patriarch Hui Neng. Bodhidharma (?-528 or 536) was a native of Southern India and revered as the 28th Patriarch of Chan in West Heaven (India) and the First Patriarch of Chan Buddhism in China. He arrived in China towards the end of the Liusong Era of the Southern Dynasties (around 478), came to the Shaolin Temple in

¹⁶Translator’s Note: reference to the entry of “shi xuanmen” in *Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, Princeton University Press, 2013, p. 810.

the third year of the reign of Xiao Chang (527), meditated in wall gazing for nine years there, hence making Shaolin Temple the ancestral home for Chan Buddhism. He later transmitted the four volumes of Lankavatara Sutra and its mind-dharma to Hui Ke, and advocated “understanding the core through teaching”, regarded as the first transmission of Chan in China. Hui Ke (487–593), also called “Lankavatara-Master”, served and learned from Bodhidharma in Shaolin Temple for six years, and advocated the theories of “the equality of ignorance and wisdom” and the “non-differentiation of the Buddha and the ordinary person”. He was credited with “profoundly examining the one vehicle, taking refuge in the mysterious truth, cultivating the Tao with simplified dharma, clarifying the core teachings”, “walking, standing, sitting, or lying down, he consummates at the true realm with a meditative mind” and “pointing out the essence of things upon encountering them; any movement or gesture of his leading to the profound understanding of the disciples”.¹⁷ Seng Can (unknown dates of birth and death), Hui Ke’s disciple was a long time recluse of the mountains and forests and led a wandering life. His disciple Dao Xin (580–651) practiced cultivation in Shuangfeng Mountain in Huangmei County of Qizhou, stressing the dual importance of physical labor and sitting meditation; he refused quite a few times the invitation to be court official by envoys from the court, and was given the posthumous title of “Chan Master Dayi (great doctor)”. Dao Xin’s disciple Hong Ren (602–675) witnessed the basic formation of the Chan School of Buddhism. He recruited disciples and practiced cultivation in East Mountain Monastery, famous for his “East Mountain Dharma Gate”. Since Hong Ren’s time, Vajra Cutter Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra had become the main teaching focus of Chan Buddhism. His famous disciples included Fa Ru, Dao An, Xuan Ze, Shen Xiu, Hui Neng, etc.

The verse “The body is the bodhi tree/The mind is like a bright mirror’s stand./ At all times we must strive to polish it/and must not let dust collect”, written by Shen Xiu (circa 606–706), marked the Chan Dharma Gate of gradual enlightenment, making Shen Xiu the head of the Northern School of Chan Buddhism. Yet the Northern School declined after several lineages, while the Southern School outshone all others and became the orthodox sect of Chan Buddhism, championing all schools of Chinese Buddhism with the most tremendous influence and the widest circulation. Huineng (Hui-neng) used to be an illiterate wood-cutter, who had an awakening upon hearing the chanting of the *Diamond Sutra*. Huineng became a laborer in the monastery under the abbot-ship of Master Hongren and made up his mind to study the Buddha- Dharma. Later on, for his composition of the Buddhist verse “Bodhi originally has no tree./Neither has the mirror a stand clear and bright./Buddha-nature is inherently pure and clear./Where could the dust alight?”, he was transmitted secretly the Chan teachings by Hongren, who passed on the robe and the begging bowl to Huineng as a sign of transmitting the Dharma Seal. Huineng later resided at Baolin Temple in Shaozhou, preaching the Dharma gate of sudden enlightenment, preaching “seeing your heart and having an insight

¹⁷Wang (2013).

of your original nature”, and “attaining Buddhahood by discovering one’s own innate Buddha nature”. His school eventually became most influential in the middle of the Tang Dynasty, proving a popular trend across the nation and hence forming the authentic Buddhist teaching with Chinese features. Huineng’s teachings were compiled into the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* by his disciples; it became the most classic scriptures of Chan Buddhism and Huineng himself was also considered one of the most outstanding cultural celebrities of China. Baolin Temple, where he preached the Dharma, was granted an imperial title of “Nanhua Chan Temple” by Emperor Taizong of the Song Dynasty in the first year of Kaibao (AD 968), and this Temple was also said to be the ancestral temple of Chan Buddhism. Chan Buddhism was also called “Damo zong” (The Sect of Bodhidharma), or named “Foxin zong” (The Sect of Buddha’s Mind) or “Xin zong” (the Sect of the Mind) due to its emphasis on “the transmission of the Buddha’s mind seal and its concept of pointing directly at your heart or original nature. After Huineng, Chan Buddhism developed into the so-called “Five Houses (or Families) and Seven Schools” (wujia qizong). First there were the two main Chan schools of the Nanyue Lineage represented by Master Huirang (677–744) and the Qingyuan Lineage represented by Master Xingsi (?–740). From the Nanyue Lineage were derived Guiyang School and Linji School, and from the Qingyuan Lineage came Caodong School, Yunmen School and Fayan School. They were collectively termed “Wujia” (five families), and with the additions of Huanglong School and Yangqi School that branched out of the Linji tradition, the term “Qi zong” (Seven Schools) came into being. In the historical development of the Nanyue Lineage, Master Huaihai (720–814) founded the Chan Temple on Mount Baizhang, and established a set of pure rules for Chan monastic discipline (that is, *Chanmen guishi* or *Behavioral Code of the Chan School*), or what was later called “Pure Rules of Baizhang”; hence he himself was titled Chan Master Baizhang. In the Qingyuan Lineage, “Stone-head Monk” Xiqian (700–790), through Chan meditative concentration and great exertions, “mastered the Buddha’s insight, knowing that the Mind is the Buddha”, thus having an influence far and wide. In the 10th century, Chan Buddhism spread to Koryo, branching into sects such as Caoxi and promoting the Chan teachings of “fundamental congruence of the meditative and doctrinal approaches”, “sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation” and the “combined practice of meditation and wisdom”. After the Southern Song Dynasty, Caodong and Linjin schools were the main Chan lineages that had a wide spread. During the 11–12th centuries, Linji School spread to Japan, which was made possible by Japanese monks Myōan Eisai, Enji Ben’en and others. The Caodong School spread to Japan in 1223 through the efforts of the Japanese monk Dogen, and developed into the “silent illumination meditation” that “focused only on sitting meditation or zazen”. The Ming Dynasty monk Yinyuan traveled long distances to Japan to spread Chan Buddhism, and in the 17th century, founded the Huangbo Sect of the Japanese Zen Buddhism; together with Linji and Caodong, they were collectively called the Three Schools of Japanese Zen Buddhism.

Since the fourth year of the Kaiyuan Era (716) of the Tang Dynasty, Esoteric Buddhism had been spreading to China through the successive efforts of

Subhakarasiṃha (637–735) from Central India, Vajrabodhi (669–741) from Southern India, and Amoghavajra (705–774) from Simhala (present-day Sri Lanka), the three masters being historically called “The Three Great Enlightened Masters of Kaiyuan”. Esotericism got its name for its teaching of the “Mahayana Esoteric Buddhism” that “truthfully explains the esoteric”, in contrast to the “manifest teaching” marked by teaching the manifest according to capacities and by explicit explanations by verbal means; the Esoteric School of Chinese Buddhism formed by it was also called Hanmi, in contrast to the Zangmi (Tibetan Esoteric Buddhism) that spread to Tibet between the 8th and 11th centuries. It is characterized by the “Three Mysteries” of bodily mystery (with mudras), speech mystery (chanting the mantra, or esoteric speech), and mind mystery (visualizing the Buddha in mind). The cultivation of the Three Mysteries led to the purity in the three activities, forming associations with the Buddha’s Three Mysteries, which in nature was identical with that of all sentient beings. In so doing, the practitioner could attain the “supreme enlightenment” marked by “adamantine mind” and “diamond body”, to “become the Buddha in this Body”. In the spreading of Esoteric Buddhism, Monk Yixing (683–727), who was known in history for his mastery of astronomy and calendars, succeeded Śubhakarasiṃha; Amoghavajra succeeded Vajra Bodhi and Huiguo (752–805) succeeded Amoghavajra; Huiguo taught at Green Dragon Temple the esoteric doctrine of “the non-duality of the Vajra Realm and Womb Container Realm” to the foreign dharma seekers who came to the Tang China; the Japanese monk Kūkai (774–835) acquired the esoteric methods of both the womb-container world and the diamond world in twentieth year (804) of the Zhenguan Era in the Tang Dynasty, founded the Tōmitsu Shingon at Toji Temple in Kyoto, and later the “Taimi”, or the Japanese Esoteric Buddhism in the Tiantai Lineage. Esoteric Buddhism only underwent two lineages in China before it declined and disappeared.

4.2.4 Southern Buddhism (Theravada Buddhism in Yunnan)

Southern Buddhism or Theravada Buddhism resulted from the South Asian spread of the Mahasanghika (Great Congregation) and the Theravada, the two branches of Indian Buddhism, in the areas of Sri Lanka, Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, China’s Yunnan Province, etc., and Southern Theravada Buddhism was a general term for it. It is also called Pali Language Buddhism, since in its history the Pali language was used to compile the Tripitaka of the Theravada scriptures and later the Sinhalese annotated Tripitaka was rewritten and commented in Pali. Yunnan Province is adjacent to many South Asian countries with communication made possible by the Silk Road and the Tea-Horse Road. Legend has it that Theravada Buddhism spread to the Xishuangbanna region of Yunnan before the Christian era. The Burmese Buddhism spread here in the 6th and 7th centuries, yet due to the popularity of Esoteric Buddhism in Sri Lanka and Burma in the 8th century,

Theravada Buddhism was inactive for a time. In the 12th and 13th centuries, Theravada Buddhism spread to the Xishuangbanna region of Yunnan, and from the 15th century onward, it also came from Burma into the areas inhabited by the ethnic groups of Dai, Bulang, De'ang, A'chang, Wa, etc., hence its name "Yunnan Theravada Buddhism"; it was also called the Dai Nationality Buddhism, because the majority of believers are from the Dai Nationality.

Yunnan Theravada Buddhism has historically developed into four major schools of Run, Baizhuang, Duolie and Zuodi. The School of Run is the most wide-spread and influential one, which came to the Xishuangbanna region from Thailand via Burma, and had a wide transmission in areas of Dehong, Lincang, Simao, etc. The Run School is subdivided into four sects of Baisun, Baiba, Bairun and Baishun, of which the Baisun got the name "pastoral school" for its meaning of "garden houses" in the Dai language. Monks of the Baisun School can live in apartment buildings, eat non-vegetarian food, possess land properties and even do business, so they are financially sound and attract a large number of believers. The Baiba School means "forest houses" in the Dai language and is thus called "the forest school"; its monasteries are far from towns and villages and are popularly known as "wilderness temples"; the monks observe strict precepts, eat neither hun food (meat, fish or strong smelling herbs) nor xing food (raw or undressed meat), take no untimely meals, and focus mainly on asceticism. With its center at the Gengma area, Bairun School circulates among nationalities of Dai, Wa, Bulang and De'ang. Baishun School, on the other hand, has not a large number of followers and thus less influence. Also termed "geng long", Baizhuang School has lax precepts, similar to Baisun School. With names of Baiduo, Gengzhang, etc., Duolie School in the Dai language means "good mountain" and its temples are usually built nearby towns or villages; this school permits women to be ordained, who are called "yahao" (novice nun) and cultivate in white robes. Duolie School has four branches of Dagongdan, Shuteman, Ruijing and Mianzuo. Zuodi School, which entered Yunnan from Burma, holds strict precepts, forbids shun-xing food, cigarettes and alcohol, and eats no untimely meals, and permits women to be ordained nus, who cultivate in white robes; the sangha have no fixed temples and lead traveling lives under the guidance of dafoye (senior monks). The Dai language scriptures, or the Dai transliterations of the Pali Tripitaka, are used in Yunnan Theravada Buddhism and are usually written on the pattra leaves, hence called the Dai language "pattra-leaf sutra".¹⁸

Yunnan Theravada Buddhist Temples are large in number and are categorized into four levels, with the first level called "Great General Temples", the second "General Temples", the third "Central Temples" (generally known as "Busa Halls"), and the fourth "Grassroots Temples". The basic monastic ranks are novice, Bhiksu and elders; the nuns are not Bhiksuni and cannot preside over Buddhist ceremonies, but they can participate in charities.¹⁹ Yunnan Theravada Buddhist

¹⁸Refer to Xiaoyun (2012).

¹⁹Refer to *A Reader of the Knowledge of the Five Major Religions in China*, Social Sciences Academic Press, 2007, p. 53.

festivals include the Water-Sprinkling Festival, Vassa, Haogan Festival, etc. The believers are now mainly distributed in areas of Simao and Lincang of the Xishuangbanna region, as well as among the nationalities of Dai, Bulang, A'chang and Wa in the Dehong Jingpo Autonomous Prefecture, Baoshan, etc.

4.2.5 *Tibetan Buddhism*

Tibetan Buddhism is popularly termed “Lamaism” (“doctrine of the lamas”) and Lama means the venerable teacher in the Tibetan language. According to legends, Indian Buddhism entered Tibet at the beginning of the fourth century, but the history of Buddhism in Tibet began in the reign of King Songtsen Gampo (617–650 or 617–698) in the 7th century. In this period, the Buddhist sutras were introduced to Tibet, and an Eleven-faced Bodhisattva statue was invited from the South India to be enshrined here. As an ethnic region of China, Tibet had had uniquely close relationships with the Tang Government ever since the Tang Dynasty. In the eighth year (634) of the Zhenguan Era, when Songtsen Gampo was only 18 years old, he sent emissaries with gifts to Emperor Taizong of the Tang Dynasty, who returned thanks through emissaries to Tibet, heralding the start of official relationships. Songtsen Gampo first married the Nepali princess Bhrikuti and invited the Statue of Acala Vajra; in the 15th year (641) of Zhenguan Era of the Tang, Princess Wencheng came from Chang'an to Tibet to be married to Songtsen Gampo and brought the statue of the Shakyamuni Buddha. The Tang-Tibetan connections through marriage deepened their political and cultural exchanges, and thus initiated religious communication and the entry of Buddhism from China's inland to Tibet. At that time, three factors combined to contribute to the formation of Tibetan Buddhism, that is, Nepalese Buddhism, Chinese Han Buddhism and the indigenous Tibetan Bon religion. The two Buddha statues brought by the Nepali princess Bhrikuti and the Tang princess Wencheng became the most precious objects to make offerings to and symbols of the entry of Buddhism to Tibet. The two princesses built Jokhang Temple and Ramoche Temple in Lhasa to enshrine the two Buddha statues, hence the meaning of Lhasa being “the land of the Buddha”.²⁰ After his succession to the throne in the first year (649) of the Yonghe Era, Emperor Gaozong of the Tang Dynasty granted Songtsen Gampo the titles of “Phu mav tu we” and “Zhi has cun wang”.²¹ In the 8th century, King Khri Sronglde btsan (755–797) invited senior Indian monks Śāntarakṣita and Padmasambhava to transmit Buddhism in Tibet; the former mainly taught Madhyamaka and Vinaya, while the latter focused on esoteric teachings; the two advocated the building of the Samye Monastery, thus initiating the regular monasteries in Tibet. The architectural styles of three stories of its main hall reflect the features of Tibet, Central Plains of China

²⁰Refer to Anzhai (2005).

²¹Refer to Qabbê Cêpän Püncog (2004).

and India, which explains Tibet's unity of multifarious cultures. During this period, Śantaraksita, as Khenpo, carried out tonsure and transmitted the Bhikṣu's precepts to seven Tibetans, and these "Seven Enlightened Ones" became the first Tibetan Buddhist monks. In his reign, Khri-gtsug-lde-btsan (815–841) formulated standards for translating the Buddhist scriptures, invited monks to preach the sutras in court, stipulated that every seven families should support one monk, set up the important position of Minister of Religion, executed strict and cruel laws to protect the privileges of the monks, and allowed monasteries to possess subjects, land, pastures and livestock; hence, Buddhism had a fast development, and many Buddhist privileges were formed and passed down to later times. This historical period is called the Early Spreading Period, which ended after the succession of Glandar-ma as Btsan po and his persecution of Buddhism. Meanwhile, some Bhikṣus escaped to the eastern Tibetan area called Amdo, thus spreading Tibetan Buddhism to Qinghai Province.

In the third year (978) of the Taiping xingguo of the Northern Song Dynasty, Tibetan Buddhism entered a developing era called the Later Spreading Period. The Indian Buddhist Master Atiṣa (982–1054) came to India in the early half of the 11th century and preached the Dharma for over ten years, when a large number of Tibetan monks began to appear and monasteries were renovated or rebuilt. Tibet had been entirely subject to the Yuan Dynasty since its rule in the 13th century. Phags-pa, the fifth Patriarch of the Sakya Sect, took the lead in the debates of various religions, and was appreciated by Kublai (1260–1294), who appointed Phags-pa as the Master of the Nation after he became the fifth emperor of the Yuan Dynasty. Tibetan Buddhism thus championed all religious faiths in the Yuan, and laid a foundation for the primary position of Tibetan Buddhism in the Mongolian faiths, forming continuous religious traditions up to today. Later on, the central government of the Ming Dynasty also had administration over the local affairs of Tibet; the Ming emperor had given official titles to those locals in power and the senior monks in Tibet, granting imperial documents empowering them with local authority; and the Yongle Emperor of the Ming Dynasty, in around 1413 (or 1408 according to some records), ever planned to invite Master Tsong-kha-pa (1357–1419), the founder of the Gelug Sect, to pay a visit the inland, and conferred him a gold-charactered imperial edict and a title. Although Tsong-kha-pa himself could not make it, he sent his disciple Jamchen Choje Shvakya-ye-shes to go to the inland and present himself before the emperor of the Ming Dynasty. After its founding, the government of the Qing Dynasty (1636–1911) established relations with the Fifth Dalai Lama in 1643, the emperors of the Qing Dynasty awarded golden decrees and golden seals to Dalai Lamas and other supreme rulers of Tibet, and invited the Fifth Dalai Lama to head more than three thousand monks and officials of Tibet to pay a visit to the capital. During the Ming and Qing dynasties, the reincarnation of living Buddha in Tibet were gradually included into the administration of the central governments and the system of national institution and codes. In 1792, the government of the Qing Dynasty proclaimed a decree to perform a system of "lot-drawing from the golden urn" for the grand living Buddhas above the level of ho-thog-thu, which means the "saints"), hence a set of religious rites of Tibetan

Buddhism was formed, and they have come down up to now as a historical convention. In 1995, after the “lot-drawing from the golden urn” and the approval of the State Council, people conducted the search and recognition of the reincarnated child of the 10th Panchen Lama and the conference and enthronement of the 11th Panchen. From 1792 to the present, more than 70 reincarnated children in the reincarnation system of important living Buddhas of Tibetan Buddhism have been recognized through “lot-drawing from the golden urn” and approved by the central government.

From the 11th to the 13th centuries, the major religions of Tibet began to form. Before Buddhism was introduced into Tibet, the primitive religious belief in Tibet was “Bon-po”. The believers of Tibetan Buddhism called “Bon-po” “black cult”, so as to indicate their own belief was “white”, that is, “pure”. However, the development of Tibetan Buddhism later on also incorporated the local Bon-po. The Tibetan Buddhism in its early stage was “Rnin-ma-pa”, which means the “ancient sect”; before the 9th century it was the major sect of Tibetan Buddhism, and was called “Red Sect” because its monks and nuns wore red hats. In the Later Spreading Period, one of the earliest sects that developed was Bkav-gdams, meaning “teaching in the words of the Buddha”; it flourished under the influence of Atisha, and was founded by Dromtönpa. In 1073, a Buddhist sect half in the form of innovation set up the Sakya Monastery, where Sa-akya-pa arose. “Sa-akya” means “grey soil”, alluding to a monastery built up on a grey land, but because its monastery walls were painted with the three strips in red, white and black, which respectively stands for Manjusri, Guanyin and Vajrapani, it was called “Colorful Sect” in the history. Tibetan Lama Kongchog Gyalpo founded the Sakya Sect, which advocated Exoteric and Esoteric teachings such as “the teaching of the Path and Its Fruit”, used to forbid the marriage of monks, and later this ban was changed into the stipulation that once a monk had a child, he shall never be close to a woman. Drogön Chögyal Phagpa, the fifth leader of the Sakya school, ever conferred abhiseca (empowerment) to Kublai Khan, the First Yuan Dynasty Emperor, and was granted the title of Imperial Preceptor. In his capacity as “the Karmapa”, he represented the central government to exercise political and religious authorities in Tibet, initiating the unity of the Tibetan politics and religion. In the 11th century, another Buddhist sect half in innovative form arose, and has been called “Bhah-brgyd-pa”; because its believers were in white robes, it is known as “White Sect”. The Sect emphasized asceticism, and paid less attention to words, advocating the doctrine of “contemplation of the mean”. Later it was divided into the two sects of Dakpo Kagyu and Shangpa Kagyu, with many branches. Its leaders received imperial posts during the Yuan and Ming Dynasties and held political powers, and began to decline after the Gelug Sect came into power. The most influential innovative sect of Tibetan Buddhism, however, is the “Dge-Lugs-pa” established by Tsongkhapa in the early 15th century, and it was a development of Bhav-gdams-pa arising in the middle of the 11th century. The name of “Dge-Lugs-pa” means “being good at disciplining”, so it is also known as a “new Dge-gdams-pa”; because its monks wore yellow hats, it is habitually called “Yellow Sect”. Later on, this sect developed into the most influential one of Tibetan

Buddhism. The sect advocated equal stress on Esoteric and Exoteric teachings, while in actual practice the Exoteric preceded the Esoteric. The Monastery of Ganden was main seat of the sect, hence its other name “Ganden Sect”; later it had built other famous temples like Drepung, Sera, Tashi Lhunpo, etc. The Dge-Lugs-pa evolved into two important systems of reincarnated living Buddha: one is “Dalai” (Ta-lavi, a Mongolian term, which means “vast seas”), which began in 1578, the successor of this lineage today is the 14th Dalai Lama; and the other is “Pan-chen” (a Tibetan term, which means “a great scholar”), which started in 1645, and its successor today is the 11th Panchen Erdeni (Master Panchen). These sects have come down to this day; they co-exist harmoniously, forming the basic situation of religions in Tibet. Tibetan Buddhism is the major religion of the Tibetan people; at present, there are more than 1,700 Buddhist monasteries and other Buddhist activity sites and about 46,000 monastic monks and nuns in Tibet Autonomous Region, among which the most famous monasteries include the three important temples in Lhasa, namely the Gaden Monastery, the Drepung Monastery and the Sera Monastery, the Jokhang Monastery, the Tashilhunpo Monastery, the Samye Monastery and so on; the pilgrims to Lhasa amount as many as more than one million every year.

The Tibetan Buddhist classics were termed the Tibetan Buddhist canon (Bkab-stan-gyur), consisting of Kangyur and Tengyur. The former were the “Translated Words” supposed to have been said by the Buddha, including sections of sutras and Vinaya; the latter were the “Translated Treatises”, including explanations and commentaries of the sutras and Vinaya, Esoteric ceremonies and patterns, miscellaneous works on the five sciences, etc. Besides, Tibetan Buddhism also preserved the Tibetan Bon texts such as the “Bon Tripitaka”, etc.

4.2.6 The Development of Chinese Buddhism After Its Formation

The formation of the “Eight Sects” of Northern Buddhism or Chinese Han Buddhism marked the maturity of the self-awareness in localized Chinese Buddhism and the basic completion of the Chinese Buddhism system. After the severe disasters in Buddhism known as the “san Wu yi Zong”, which occurred in 446–452 (the reign of Emperor Great Wudi of Northern Wei), 573–578 (Emperor Wudi of Northern Zhou), 845–847 (reign of Emperor Wuzong of Tang), and 955–960 (Emperor Shizong of later Zhou), the rulers of ancient Chinese gradually figured out the effective policy measures in regulating Buddhism. Since the Song Dynasty, census of the monastics had been carried out, and every year the “cizhang (partial accounts)” was made every year for checking and the “quanzhang (whole accounts)” was made every three years. Since the Song Dynasty, the monk certificate was issued as the qualification of monk-hood or nun-hood, thus initiating the buying and selling of the certificate between the government officials and the folks.

Chan Buddhism began to be popular since the Song, with colorful manifestations in the “wenzi chan (lettered Chan)”, “kanhua Chan (observing key phrases)”, “moz-hao Chan (silent illumination)”, etc., whose “records of the lamp” (biographies of Chan monks) and “records of sayings” “records of Chan masters’ words and acts” were regarded as “koans” Functioning as principles in Chan meditation and identification; many lamp records also became the official Chan meditation books. In correspondence with this phenomenon, the faith in Amitabha Buddha of the Pure Land Sect became the spiritual resort and a shortcut for salvation on the part of the common folks; its popularity and the formation of the folk organizations as a result of it incurred changes to the Chinese grassroots social stratifications. The unification of the three teachings of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism that began in the Song Dynasty also led to the rise of Song-Ming Neo-Confucianism.

The changes in Yuan Dynasty’s ethnic relations brought changes in the hierarchies of the social groups. Though Kublai Khan, Shizu of the Yuan Dynasty, tolerated all religions and carried out debates among the religious sects, he favored Tibetan Buddhism, implemented the policy of “favoring Tibetan Buddhism and containing Chan Buddhism”, and thus gave rise to the conflicts and integrations of Han Chinese Buddhism and Tibetan Buddhism.

Zhu Yuanzhang, Emperor Taizhu of the Ming Dynasty, also its founding emperor, used to be a monk. After he was in power, he prohibited by official order the folk beliefs of Daming Teaching, Maitreya Teaching, White Lotus, etc., while strengthening the management of Buddhism. Zhu categorized the Buddhist monasteries into the three levels of Chan, Preaching and Ritual monasteries, with different administrative-level offices of Buddhist Registry for the Avenues of the Capital, Prefectural Buddhist Registry, Subprefectural Buddhist Registry, and District Buddhist Registry. The Buddhist development of this period witnessed the interfusion of Chan and preaching, combined practice of Chan and Pure Land, and the parallel practice of Chan and Vinaya; senior monks and dignitaries emerged in large numbers at this time.

The Qing Dynasty Buddhism manifested new transitions and changes, abolished the regulations of monk and nun ordination as well as monk certificates, and rectified Chan Buddhism, advocating the unification of Chan and preaching, and the equal emphasis on Chan, Pure Land and Vinaya; the Pure Land Sect had thus been able to develop further. For the purpose of national unity, the Qing government consolidated the control and management of Tibetan Buddhism, enabling more encounters and dialogues between Han Chinese Buddhism and Tibetan Buddhism. Toward the end of the Qing Dynasty, lay Buddhism as a new force suddenly rose, giving an impetus to Buddhist sutra printing/inscriptions and revolutions. Yang Wenhui (1837–1911), a famous representative of lay Buddhism, presided over the Jinling Sutra Publishing House for about 40 years, and had more than 3000 volumes of sutras printed; Yang established the Zhiheng Monastery in 1908 for the teaching of Buddhism, and founded the Buddhist Research Society in 1910, contributing greatly to the revival of Buddhist research.

After the Xinhai Revolution, Master Xu Yun (1840–1959) exerted all his efforts to rejuvenate Chan Buddhism, and participated in the preparation of establishing

the Buddhist Association; these experiences enabled him to be the chief founder-member of China's Buddhist Association after the founding of the People's Republic of China, and he acted as the Honorary President of the Association. Between the end of the Qing Dynasty and the beginning of the Republican Era, many monks such as Jing'an, Tai Xu, Di Xian, Xu Yun, Hongyi, Yuexia, Yinshun, etc., promoted the innovation of Buddhism and initiated the development of modern socially engaged Buddhism. For instance, Master Tai Xu (1890–1947) put forth the concept of “Humanistic Buddhism”, and participated in the dialogue between Buddhism and Christianity, securing a new stage in the social engagement of Buddhism and the investment in Buddhist charities.

The Buddhist Association of China was founded in 1953, and its headquarters are located in Guangji Temple in Beijing. Venerable Master Yuanying was the first president of the Association and Sherap Gyatso (1953–1966), Zhao Puchu (1980–2000), Venerable Master Yicheng (2005–2010), Venerable Master Chuanyin (2010–2015), etc., had successively held the presidency of it. This signaled the beginning of the socialist adaptation of Buddhism, from which the tenet of “honoring the country and benefiting sentient beings” was put forth. Entering the 21st century, Chinese Buddhism not only actively adapted itself to the Open and Reform of contemporary China, but also contributed positively to the harmonious development of the world's people. For this reason, the Buddhist Association of China has till now organized three World Buddhist Forums, including the First World Buddhist Forum (from April 13 to 18, 2006 in Hangzhou and Zhoushan) with the theme “A harmonious world begins from within” and about 1000 participants from about 37 countries and regions; the Second World Buddhist Forum (from March 28 to April 1, 2009 in Wuxi and Taipei) with the theme “A Harmonious World, A Synergy of Conditions” and over 1700 participants from about 50 countries and regions; and the third World Buddhist Forum (from April 25 to 27, 2012 in Hong Kong) with the theme “harmonious world: common aspirations and actions” and over 10, 000 participants from about 60 countries and regions present at the Opening Ceremony. In the process of contemporary Chinese culture “going out”, Chinese Buddhism is playing an active and unique role.

4.2.7 Buddhist Precepts, Festivals, Classics and Doctrines

The precepts of Buddhism comprises one of the “Three Learnings” of precepts, meditation and wisdom. Precepts mean “prohibition”, or General Regulations, with the two categories of “the precepts of prohibition” and “the precepts of performance (precepts that engage the cultivation of good behavior)”. “The precepts of prohibition” aim at “shunning all evil doings”, as in “denial precepts constitute a vehicle for correct mindfulness, protection of the body against unhealthy sensations, habitual checking on actions and words, and avoidance of all evils, thus called denial; when denial precepts are carried, the essence of the precepts shines clean, and one follows naturally the disciplines, thus called performance” (Fourth part of

Commentary on the Four-Part Vinaya); the precepts are categorized into “Five Precepts”, “Eight Precepts”, “Ten Precepts” (Precepts for Novices), “Full Precepts”, etc. The five precepts are commitments to abstain from harming living beings, stealing, sexual misconduct, lying and intoxication; in addition to the five precepts, “eight precepts” cover three more precepts, that is, refraining from lying on a high or luxurious sleeping place, refraining from dancing, singing, music, going to see entertainments, wearing garlands, and beautifying the body with cosmetics, and refraining from eating at the forbidden time (fast, no meals after noon); “ten precepts”, taken by novice monks and nuns, cover two more precepts apart from the “eight precepts”, that is, refraining from using perfumes, and refraining from accepting gold and silver (money) as well as other treasures. “Full precepts”, or great precepts, are precepts for bhiksus and bhiksunis, with 250 precepts for bhiksus and 348 for bhiksunis. “Precepts that engage the cultivation of good behavior” require one to “do all good things”, as in “in terms of cultivating positive behavior, once one has left all evil doings, he should aim at practicing the good, endeavoring the three karmic activities, cultivating and carrying out the precepts, protecting the good that arises within, thus called the cultivation of good actions” (Fourth part of *Commentary on the Four-Part Vinaya*); they include explaining the precepts, observing the summer retreat, cultivating bodily actions, speech and thought, etc. Vinaya means “regulate”, with connotations such as extinction, conduct associated with renunciation, converting and conveying to salvation, good governing, etc., and the difference between Vinaya and precepts lies in the fact that Vinaya is especially formulated for ordained monks and nuns. The Vinaya classics include the *Four-Part Vinaya*, *Ten Recitation Vinaya*, *Mahasangha-vinaya*, etc. Buddhist festivals are related to the Buddhist rituals and ceremonies, including mainly the Buddha’s Birth, Buddha’s Nirvana, Buddha’s Enlightenment, to commemorate the birth, death and the attainment of Buddhahood of Shakyamuni, as well as the Ullambana Festival, etc.

The Buddhist classics are generally termed the Tripitaka, and its collections are called the Great Buddhist Canon, including the three parts of sūtra, vinaya, and śāstra. According to the translated languages and geographical locations, China preserves the Buddhist Canon of the Southern Transmission, the Chinese Tripitaka, Tibetan Tripitaka, Man language Tripitaka, Mongolian Tripitaka, Xixia language Tripitaka (fragments), as well as the Japanese Tripitaka used in Chinese Buddhism. Based on these classics and their commentaries, the major Buddhist doctrines are summed up as the Four Noble Truths and the Twelve Links of Causation. Four Noble Truths refer to the concept of four kinds of truths, that is, the teaching of the truths of suffering, origination, cessation, and path. The truth of suffering teaches that there are varieties of suffering in the world; the truth of origination analyzes the reasons or foundations for these sufferings; the truth of cessation points out the Buddhist ideals of the suffering-free realm and the detached state of Nirvana; and the truth of the path talks about the methods and ways of attaining the ideal states. In view of the human life and reality, the Buddhists use “Dukkha or suffering” to experience life, advocating that there are eight sufferings, namely, the four sufferings of birth, aging, sickness, and death, plus the suffering of having to part from those

whom one loves, the suffering of having to meet with those whom one hates, the suffering of being unable to obtain what one desires, and the suffering arising from the five components (form or physical phenomena, perception or sensation, conception or ideas, volition or will, and consciousness) that constitute one's body and mind, all of which lead to "the boundless sea of suffering". "Suffering" derives from Buddhists' profound and poignant understanding of human realities, and in analyzing the reasons for suffering they bring forth the concept of Twelve Links of Causation according to their logical reasoning. They categorize the phenomenal existence into a sequence of twelve causes or conditions. In this train of thought, man's ignorance leads to volitional action; volitional action leads to consciousness; consciousness leads to the spiritual name and the fleshly form; name and form lead to six senses (the formation of eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body and mind); six senses lead to contact with the external world; contact leads to feeling; feeling leads to craving; craving leads to clinging to external gains; clinging leads to becoming; becoming leads to birth; and birth leads to old age and death. This is the so-called Twelve Links of Causation of ignorance, volition, consciousness, name and form, six senses, contact, feeling, craving, clinging, becoming, birth, old age and death. The central concern of the Buddhist concept of suffering is to emphasize that there is always a cause for suffering, that is, ignorance; true liberation and a change for the "shore at hand after detachment" can only be achieved after ignorance is eradicated.

Based on the above, Buddhism comes with teachings such as "retribution", "Samsara", "the triple worlds (past, present and future lives)", etc. "Buddha" originally means "awakening" with the highest fruits after cultivation, hence the Hinayana's reverence of the Shakyamuni Buddha and the Mahayana's inclusion of the perfectly enlightened ones from whom come the past Buddhas, the present Buddha and the future Buddha. The Seven Buddhas of Antiquity include Buddha Dipamkara and Shakyamuni Buddha, the other six being Vipassī, Sikhī, Vessabhū, Kakusandha, Koṇāgamana, and Kassapa. The present Buddha is Shakyamuni and the future Buddha is Maitreya. In correspondence with the Buddhas of the Three Ages in chronological order, there are also Buddhas of the Three Ages in spatial order, that is, the Medicine Buddha of the Eastern Glazed World, Shakyamuni Buddha of the Saha World and Amitabha Buddha of the Western Pure Land of Bliss. In terms of the "Buddha body", there is the concept of three Buddha-bodies or the Trikaya, that is, the Dharmakāya or Truth body which embodies the Dharma; the Sambhogakāya or body of reward for cultivation; and the expedient Nirmāṇakāya or created body which manifests in time and space to deliver all sentient beings. In addition, in terms of light, there are the Great Sun Buddha (Vairocana Buddha) or the Great Sun Tathagata (the Dharma body of Shakyamuni), from which comes the Buddha world of the so-called "Buddhas of the Five Dimensions" or "five Buddhas as incarnations of distinct types of wisdom". In correlation with the Buddha's universal deliverance of all sentient beings, and from the perspective of the practitioner, there is the Buddhist concept of "Pusa", a phonetic abbreviation of the Sanskrit "Bodhisattva", meaning "to enlighten sentient beings" or "Mahāsattva, or great being", that is, the elevation from enlightening oneself to enlightening others. Four great Bodhisattvas are revered in Chinese Buddhism, namely, Manjusri,

Bodhisattva of Wisdom, whose ritual sanctuary is Mount Wutai of Shanxi Province; Samantabhadra Bodhisattva, the Buddhist Icon of Practice, whose ritual sanctuary is Mount Emei of Sichuan Province; Avalokiteshvara, or Guanyin Bodhisattva of Compassion, whose ritual sanctuary is Mount Putuo of Zhejiang Province; and Kshitigarbha, embodiment of great vows to save all beings in Hell, whose ritual sanctuary is Mount Jiuhua of Anhui Province. The realm which a man's cultivation can reach is called "arhat" or "arahat", and in China there are concepts of Sixteen Arhats, Eighteen Arhats or Five Hundred Arhats.

The Buddhists regard the world as constantly changing and impermanent, as seen in the Three Marks of Existence ("mark" here meaning standards), namely, impermanence (*anicca*), that is, all are in flux; non-self (*anattā*), that is, all are dependently co-arisen without a dominant self; Nirvana, that is, the eternal tranquility after transcending Samsara. Despite the passivity of its teachings of emptiness and absolute nothingness, the Buddhist affirmation of the route of Samsara conveys to some degree a positive plan and an urge or encouragement of man's positive actions in this life. According to Buddhism, there are six realms of Samsara, namely, heavenly realm, Asura realm (demi-gods), human realm, animal realm, ghosts realm, and hell. The point is that if a human being's actions in this life can meet the standards of the Buddhist "Dharma", he or she will have an ideal reincarnation in the future life; otherwise, things will be getting worse and he or she will end up in hell. This is the "power of the Buddha Dharma" emphasized in Buddhism. Aiming at transcending time and space and Samsara, Buddhism provides the suffering beings with an awakening and a detachment; this realm of "permeation" provides the Chinese intelligentsia and common folks a kind of detached freedom in terms of faith, resulting in an enlightenment of "awaiting the clouds to rise at the river's end". Therefore, many Chinese intellectuals believe that, regarding the "mind/heart therapy" that leads to "an insight into the red-dust world", Buddhism provides a stairway whereby one can feel unburdened and walk down carefree, making one discipline the heart by means of the "Buddha" and eradicate all desires and afflictions with the Buddhist "prescription for terminating evils". At the beginning of the 20th century, representatives of the New Culture Movement like Liang Qichao and Liang Suming, who at one time had thought that China had no religions and that Chinese should not have religious faith, quickly abandoned their previous arguments and instead urged the Chinese people to have faith in Buddhism and practice it. Buddhism as a whole becomes the largest religion in China today, thanks to the circulation of its wisdom teachings and philosophical reasoning, as well as its innovation and progress in the Chinese cultural soil.

4.3 Chinese Islam

Islam used to be termed in China "Hui Religion", "Huihui Religion", "Huihui Gate of Teaching", "the Teaching and Purity and Truth", etc. Initially, it had names of "Dashi Dharma", "Dshi Exotic Customs", "Dashi Teaching and Regulations", etc.

Islam in China mainly spread in the regions of the ethnic minorities, developing among the 10 ethnic groups of Hui, Uygur, Kazak, Tatar, Tajik, Kirgiz, Uzbek, Dongxiang, Sala, and Bao'an. Sunni and Shiite sects make up the religion of Islam, and within the Sunni there are the four schools of Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi'i, and Hanbali according to the different understanding of the Islamic teachings. Most Chinese Muslims belong to the Sunni, observing the teachings of the Hanafi school; however, Tajik Muslims are historically related to the Iranian Shiite, hence their lineage within the Ismailis of the Shiite.

4.3.1 *The Introduction of Islam*

Islam spread to China via the Silk Road during the Tang Dynasty. At that time the Arabic Empire was called "Dashi" in China. "The official exchanges of emissaries between China and Dashi started in the second year of the Yonghui Era (651). Outside the North Gate of Guangzhou city was the Waqqas tomb, which, to the Islamic believers, was built by the Chinese.... The tomb could have been built in the third year of the Yonghui Era."²² During the over 100 years down to the Zhenguan Reign of the Tang Dynasty, dozens of Arabic emissaries came to China, including the white-robed Arabs from the Umayyad dynasty and the Dark-robed Arabs from the Abbasid Dynasty. At that time, the two countries were both in economic prosperity and trade flourished between the two. The Arabic and Persian merchants came to Chang'an by the Silk Road via Dashi, Talas of Persia, Qiuci, and the Hexi Corridor, and those who came via the Maritime Silk Road mostly gathered in China's Southeastern coastal cities such as Guangzhou, Quanzhou, Yangzhou, Hangzhou, etc., selling spices, ivory, herbs, and jewelry and bringing back China's silk, porcelain, tea, etc.; hence, the Maritime Silk Road was also the Spice Road and the China Road. These merchants who came to China were called Fanke (foreign guests), Shanghu (foreign merchants) or Hujia (foreign businessmen). Most of them became the zhutang (Tang residents), and through intermarriages in China, gave birth to children, thus forming the hybrid ethnic nationalities, with Islam as their national religious faith.

There are different arguments regarding the exact entry time of Islam to China. According to research, the Waqqas as mentioned by Chen Yuan came to China in the Kaihuang Era of the Sui Dynasty, and thus could not have been the missionaries. The second year of the Yonghui Era of the Tang Dynasty was when Dashi sent emissaries to China and might not represent the entry of Islam. Besides, there is also the argument that in the Wude Era (618–626) of the Tang Dynasty, the four disciples of Muhammad came to Guangzhou, Yangzhou, Quanzhou, etc. to do missionary work. Yet the legend of these "four sages" was related to the sacred tomb sites at Mount Lingshan in Quanzhou, which had no sufficient historical

²²Chen (1980a, b).

evidence either. On the other hand, we may well conclude that Islam entered China between the Tang and Song Dynasties.

The entry of Islam in the Tang Dynasty was mainly due to the Dashi and Persian emissaries and merchants to China, and the prosperity and opening policies of the Tang enabled it to adopt the “all-inclusive” policy toward all races and cultures. Regarded as the “Dashi fa (Dhashi Rules)”, Islam was tolerated and preserved. Quite a few foreigners long resided in China at that time and became Fanke, whose children became Tushen Fanke, or “locally born Fanke”. And the Persian translation of the word Islam gave rise to the term “pusaman” (a name for a poetic melody). Initially the east spread of Islam was mainly via the land Silk Road, but owing to the blockage of the West Regions and Tibet after the An-Shi Rebellion (755), the Maritime Silk Road became the main communication route, and the densely populated Fanke cities like Guangzhou, Quanzhou, Hangzhou, etc., where fanfang “barbarian quarters” stood in great numbers, unfolded a picture of flourishing exchanges. It’s believed that the Guangzhou Huaisheng Mosque could have its origin traced to the Tang Dynasty; the examination of the remains of the tower and mosque would prove that Huaisheng Mosque could possibly be one of the earliest mosques in China. And the Hangzhou Mosque and True Teaching Mosque were also said to come into being in the Tang Dynasty; they were called Phoenix Mosque due to their resemblance to a phoenix on wings. The Fashang hujia (foreign merchants and businessmen) in the Tang Dynasty evolved in the Five Dynasties into Manyi shanggu (merchants and businessmen of foreign descent), symbolizing their softened foreignness and the gradual formation of their Chinese features.

Song Dynasty witnessed a substantial development of Islam; its name changed gradually from the secular “Dashi Rules” to “Dashi jiaodu” (Dashi Teachings and Regulations) with more manifest religious connotations. In the Five Dynasties, the term Manyi shanggu (merchants and businessmen of foreign or barbarian descent) was also gradually replaced by Tusheng fanke (locally born foreign residents). The Chinese Muslims’ evolution from “aliens” to “natives” laid a solid foundation for the eventual formation of the “Huihui” nationality. The mosques were already built in China at the beginning of the Northern Song Dynasty; it is said that the initial construction of Beijing Niujie Mosque could be traced to the second year of Zhidao Era at the beginning of the Northern Song Dynasty, when Islam came in. In the second year of the Dazhong xiangfu Era (1009) under the reign of Emperor Zhenzong of the Northern Song Dynasty, the Muslims of Quanzhou built the Arab-style Qingjing Mosque (also known as Shengyou Mosque), and at the end of the Southern Song Dynasty the Xianhe (Crane) Mosque was also built. Therefore, the establishment of the four famous mosques, namely, the Guangzhou Huaisheng Mosque, Hangzhou Phoenix Mosque (True Teaching Mosque), Quanzhou Shengyou Mosque (Qingjing Mosque) and the Yangzhou Xianhe Mosque, along China’s Southeast coast, marked the root and flowering of Islam in the Chinese inland. Towards the end of the Song Dynasty, the emigrant status of Chinese Islam gradually disappeared and its local colors were steadily forming.

Between the Tang Dynasty and the Song Dynasty, the politics in the western regions of China experienced ups and downs and frequent changes, furnishing an important historic opportunity for the spreading of Islam in China's western frontiers. Toward the end of the Tang Dynasty, one westward moving Uighur group led by Pangteqin of the Qarakhanid tribe entered the west of Xinjiang and Central Asia, and in collaboration with the Turkic tribes of Qarluqs and Yangmo founded the Qarakhanid Dynasty. During the over 370 years from the middle of the 9th century to the beginning of the 13th century, this minority ethnic dynasty experienced the dynastic changes from Tang to the Southern Song in the Central Plains of China. The Qarakhanid Dynasty had the political system of dual Khagans, with the Great Khagan called Arslan (lion) Khan and the Deputy Khagan called Boghra (male camel) Khan. These khans had obvious China-consciousness, with titles like Tangac Khan (China Khan), Emperor of the East and China, etc.²³ Kül Bilgä Qadir Khan gave the east and west parts of the empire to his two sons, the east part controlled by himself and later succeeded by his first son Basil, with its capital in Blasakin (in the present-day Kyrgyzstan), and the west branch being in the charge of his second son Oğulcak Han who acted as the Deputy Khan, with its capital initially in Taraz (in the present-day Kazakhstan). At the beginning, the rulers of the Qarakhanid Dynasty mainly believed in Manichaeism and Buddhism. Oğulcak Han was a Buddhist believer, and his subjects mostly had the Buddhist faith; meanwhile, there was also the coexistence of Nestorians, Manichaeans and Muslims. In this period, the eastward expansion of Islam reached Central Asia, and the Dawla Tahiriyya (821–873), the Saffārids (873–903), and Sulala Samaniyya (874–999), the three dynasties that had Islamic faith, were founded successively. Under the reign of Oğulcak, the Qarakhanid Dynasty had frequent conflicts with Sulala Samaniyya; in 893, Taraz fell, and Oğulcak had to move to Kashgar (the present-day Kashi in Xinjiang Province). It was said that Nasr, the prince of Sulala Samaniyya escaped to Kashgar due to the court coup, and was trusted by Oğulcak to rule Artux, where he built the earliest mosque in Xinjiang. Influenced by Prince Nasr, Satuq, the nephew of Oğulcak was converted to Islam, and then, supported by Samaniyya Muslims, overthrew Oğulcak through political coup in about 915, and became the Bughra Khan. Having assumed leadership, Satuq consolidated his rule with the laws of Islam, making Kashgar the earliest region to embrace the entry of Islam, and the Qarakhanid Dynasty became the first dynasty to have religious faith in Islam in the history of Xinjiang. After his succession, Meisah, the son of Satuq, declared Islam to be the national religion, and his subjects, about 200 thousand zhang (or close to one million) of Turks were converted to Islam. This history played a very critical role in the later development of Islam in Xinjiang.

In the Yuan Dynasty, Mongolian Empire's western expedition brought back large numbers of Muslims to China, and these people were called by the Yuan Dynasty "Semu (color-eye)" or "Huihui". Related to the rise and expansion of the Mongolian tribes, the Yuan official documents called people from Central Asia,

²³Refer to Li (2003).

Persia and Arab “Huihui”, who belonged to the “Semu”. *The Dream Pool Essays* by Shen Kuo (1030–1095) of Song Dynasty used “Huihui” to refer to what the Tang people called “Huihu” of “Huihe”, the earliest instance of the mentioning of “Huihui” in Chinese language documents; in *Chronicles of the Liao Dynasty*, “Huihui country” refers to the Qarakhanid (dark khan) Dynasty; the Yuan government had a special organization to be in charge of Islamic affairs, called “Huihui zhangjiao hadesuo”, of which “hade” is the transliteration of al—Qadi, meaning the Islamic judge.

Obviously, Islam had already been a religion that coexisted with Buddhism, Taoism and the Yelikewen religion in the Yuan Dynasty; at this time there might have been the “Huihui religion” or “Huihui Teaching Gate”, which, however, was not in wide circulation or officially adopted. The name “Huihuijiao” did not appear until the end of the Yuan Dynasty and the beginning of the Ming Dynasty in Ye Ziqi’s *Book of Master Plants*; Since then Huihuijiao as a religious expression had paralleled religions like Quanzhenjiao and had been recorded in documents of antiquity. The naming of its ritual locale as the “si” (temple or mosque) began in the Yuan Dynasty, and the special term “qingzhenshi” appeared around the middle of the Ming Dynasty, while the other religions tried hard to avoid the concept of “qingzhen (the pure and true)”. The Yuan Dynasty witnessed the integrity of Islam in its forms and functions in China. “Only in the Yuan Dynasty did the social stratum of the Islamic religious professionals begin to emerge; they were either called ‘dashiman’, ‘hade’ (executioner of the religious laws), or ‘Huihui masters’. In addition, there were also the Sufi mendicants called ‘dieliweishi’. They did not have regular estates or professions; instead, they roamed about, did cloud wandering and practiced diligently the exercises of the internal organs; they were the mystics. And the general followers were called ‘musuluman’ (the variation of the Persian word for Muslim)”.²⁴

In the Yuan Dynasty, the Semu ethnicity where “Huihui” belonged enjoyed a relatively superior social status, second only to Mongolians and superior to the Han Chinese, because, in the Mongolian armies’ westward, eastward and southward expeditions, they brought back large numbers of Muslims to the east, who became important forces for the Mongolian expansion and their reliable assistants. These “huihui professionals” and “Huihui Gunners” with “hundred skills refined, particularly those of siege”, and “being skilled in land and water”, had played a significant role in the Mongolian expedition. After the war ended, they remained in China, and Yuan dynasty government gave them preferential treatment. In terms of distribution of powers, they defeated the ethnic groups of Nvzhen and Han and obtained the position of daluhuachi (seal-bearer). Huihui, Weiwu, Naiman and Tangwu remained unchanged.”²⁵ Such policies accelerated the development of Islam in China, so “Huihuis regarded the Central Plains as home, especially those in

²⁴Qin (1995a, b, c, d). The “dashiman” is the transliteration of the Persian term for the Islamic “religious professionals” (Ibid., 1995, p. 33).

²⁵*The Autography of the Founder Emperor of the Yuan History.*

the South” (Zhou Mi. *Miscellaneous Observations from the Year of Gui-xin*), resulting in the proliferation of western regions’ immigrants across the country, as evidenced in the flourishing of Huihui’s eastward movement “as early as the Yuan Dynasty”, with “Huihui everywhere in the Yuan”.²⁶

Yuan Mongols moved westward via mainly the land Silk Road that connected the east and the west, and they contributed to the eastward migration of the Muslims on this route, promoting the development of Chinese nationalities and religions. At the beginning of the Yuan Dynasty, when Mongols were on the rise, their faith was in their traditional Shamanism. Genghis Khan in his expanding expeditions realized that conquering the world needed not only “the military” but also “civilizational rule”. For this purpose, he appointed the Buddhist believer Yelvchucai in state administration, and twice implemented imperial decrees to invite the Quanzhen Taoist Qiu Chuji, the “the immortal old master bestowed by Heaven” to come to Samarkand and discuss ways of governing the country, and “to understand my thoughts.” His attitude of learning widely from others’ strong points led to policies of “preferential treatment of all religions” and “reverence of all religions”, which also remained with his successors. However, the rulers’ religious preferences or partiality to a certain extent influenced the development of religions in the Yuan dynasty. Before his death, Genghis Khan had the conquered territories and political power divided among his four sons, including eldest son Joci, second son Cayatai, third son of Ogedei, and fourth son Tului; he appointed Ogedei as the successor to the throne. Cayatai’s manor was the present-day southern Xinjiang, from the Uighur territory westward through the Ili River basin to the mid-River Prairie; Ogedei’s land included the present-day Tacheng Prefecture, Altai area and the west of Mongolia proper. Ogedei supported equality of religions, and his son Güyüg qayan, after succeeding him, still maintained the freedom of religious development, although impartial towards Christianity. Mongke, the eldest son of Tului, after succeeding Güyüg, also expressed that he would “observe the bequeathed teachings of Genghis Khan, and give equal treatment to any religion, with no partiality”²⁷ however, his preference was already for Buddhism. In 1255 and 1256 in Karakorum, he organized two sessions of religious debates, in which Buddhists, in conjunction with Christians and Muslims, made the Taoist debaters “drop their arguments and feel inadequate of their expressions”. Mongke then used the analogies of the palm and the fingers to refer to the relationship between Buddhism and other religions. After Kublai Khan succeeded the throne, he said that “the world worshiped four prophets, namely, the Christians’ heavenly lord Jesus Christ, the Muslims’ Muhammad, Moses of Judaism, and the Buddhists’ first god Shakyamuni. I show my respect to all of them, and particularly revere the truest one who merits a position in heaven, for whose silent blessing I plead.”²⁸ But he

²⁶“Records of Western Regions” in *Chronicles of the Ming Dynasty*, Volume 323.

²⁷D’Ohsson (1962).

²⁸*The Travels of Marco Polo*, Annotated Version, Trans. Feng Chengjun, with new annotations by Dang Baohai, Hebei People’s Press, 1999, p. 293.

similarly regarded Buddhism as the foundation, upon which to include all other religions. Concerning such attitudes of the Yuan rulers, a later book that downplayed Taoism yet elevated Buddhism thus recorded, “according to what you say today, Taoism is the most revered; according to Xiucui (those who passed the imperial examination at the county level in the Ming and Qing dynasties), Confucianism is the best; Christians revere the Messiah, for they could thus ascend to heaven; Danismand professed emptiness and thanked heaven for bestowing. Pondering their roots, I find none can surpass the Buddha. The monarch then held up his hand and made an analogy, saying that ‘the five fingers are all from the palm’; Buddhism is the palm and the other religions fingers. Without having an insight of the root, yet simply boasting of their own mysteriousness, they could only be summed up as blind men feeling the elephant.”²⁹ However, while the rulers of the Yuan dynasty finally selected Buddhism as the main religion, the development of Islam was still unavoidably evident. Even Kublai Khan’s grandson Ananda, the Lord of Anxi, had become a devout Muslim, and affected the faith of his army of 150,000 Mongolians. Between the reigns of Wu Zong and Chengzong of the Yuan Dynasty, he was imprisoned and exhorted to be converted to Buddhism, but even the threat of death could not change his beliefs.

Different from these regions, Cayatai’s fief was in the regions of Xinjiang and Central Asia, areas mainly for Islamic activities. Mongolia’s Zasag (law) had obvious collisions with local Muslims who followed the Islamic law, causing local revolts. With the passing of time and the integration of Islamic and Mongolian cultures, divisions emerged within the Mongol rulers; some Mongolian noble lords were converted to Islam in Mongolia, such as Berke Khan of the Golden Horde, Cayatai’s descendant Mubarak Shah, Baraq, etc. Berke, the grandson of Genghis Khan and the son of Jochi, after succeeding his brother Batu as ruler of Qipchaq ulusi or the Golden Horde, became the first Mongolian Khan to be converted to Islam. Chagatai Khanate in its development made Almalik, located in the Ili River Valley area, its capital, and with the establishment of the cities also introduced Islam. The beginning of the 14th century witnessed divisions of the Chagatai Khanate, and the frequent Khan changes; some of these rulers took advantage of the Islamic influences and converted to Islam. In particular, Tughlugh Timur Khan, the Chagatai ruler enthroned in 1347 announced his conversion to Islam, and 160,000 residents of the Ili Prefecture followed him in “cutting their long hair and converting to Islam.” Chagatai Khanate area historically included the Qarakhanid dynasty, hence its strong inherent Islamic tradition. In this way, the Chagatai Khanate, active in the late Yuan dynasty in the western regions, kept its expansion by force, suppressed the Buddhist influences in Kuche and Shaya, with political and religious conquests combined, which strongly promoted the development of Islam in China’s Northwest borders, with the result that the Xinjiang’s historically existent Manichaeism, Buddhism, Christianity and other faiths were gradually disappearing. Upwards to the 16th century, most Xinjiang residents had converted

²⁹Xiang Mai, *Zhiyuan Scrutinizing for the False*, Vol. 8, Refer to Qin (1995a, b, c, d).

to Islam, and there appeared the basic form of the Islamic development in its modern patterns.

During the Yuan dynasty, Chinese ethnic minority groups with faith in Islam had been formed, giving rise to the emergence of two Islamic systems in China. For the first one, in mainland China, foreign Muslims, in their integration with the Chinese nation, evolved from the Tang dynasty's "foreign businessmen and merchants", the Five Dynasties' "merchants of foreign descents", the Song Dynasty's "locally born foreign guests", and the Yuan Dynasty's "Semu people", until the formation of the "huihui" people of the Yuan Dynasty, which was a most important symbol of China's Muslim development, "huihui" being the collective term for the Hui nationality and other nationalities with Islamic faith. In the Yuan Dynasty, Muslims that came via the sea routes were called "Foreign Huihui from the South"; those from the Western regions "Western Region Huihui"; and Muslim soldiers were called "Huihui soldiers of various routes", "Xixia Huihui soldiers" and "Huihui gunners". Meanwhile, the Muslim veterans who opened up lands for agricultural reclamation were directly called "Huihui people", in the census they were given the special title "Huihui hu" (Huihui Household), and in the fields of science and technology were "Huihui Imperial Academy", "Islamic astronomy bureau", "Huihui medicine institute", etc. It can be said that "Huihui", as today's conventional alternative name for the Hui nationality, had already been a collective term for the Muslim groups with the Islamic faith in the Central Plains in the Yuan dynasty. For the second system, in the Northwest border area or today's Xinjiang of China, the Uighur ethnic minority and the remaining local Mongolian people, with the development of Islamic faith during Qarakhanid dynasty and the Chagatai Khanate in Central Asia, gradually formed the ethnic Uighur Islamic belief system. The development of both systems of Islam, provided the basic distribution patterns and characteristic beliefs of Chinese Muslims, constituting the close relationship between Chinese Islam and the development of these minorities.

4.3.2 Islam and Its Chinese Development Since the Ming Dynasty

The development of Ming Dynasty Islam was marked by "wide scattering and small concentration". The early Ming capital Nanjing was once a place where Muslims concentrated, and there was for one time the phenomenon of the Hui swarming in Nanjing city. With the Ming Dynasty's implementation of sea route prohibition, Chinese Muslims' external connections were severed, and the Southeast coastal Islamic development was hampered. In addition, the overhaul of the Ming dynasty in building the great wall, with which "to stabilize the sand with the wall" and to ward off the "barbarians' invasion", resulted in the discrimination of the Hua (Han Chinese) and Yi (the barbarians) and the policy of self-enclosure, affecting the Ming's relationship with minorities of the western regions. This actually led to the

blockage of both the Land and Maritime Silk Roads, foreshadowing China's subsequent closing the borders and locking the country (*biguan suoguo*) and its delayed development. However, the Islamic world being isolated from the outside forced Islam in China to accelerate its process of Sinicization, and this trend was particularly prominent in China's inland. Muslims in Mainland China consisted mostly of the Hui nationality, distributed mainly in the Northwest, particularly in the Hexi areas of Gansu and Shaanxi provinces. This situation has already been there in the Yuan dynasty, as recorded in the historical documents, "the Hui people coming from Shaanxi and Gansu, and flourishing in the yuan Dynasty", Gansu being adjacent to the western regions, where large numbers of Hui people reside together", and "Yuan Dynasty witnessing Hui people everywhere, most being in Gansu province".³⁰ It can be said that the pattern in which the largest percentage of Hui nationalities inhabited the Northwest areas had already come into being in the Ming dynasty, and has remained so until today with no fundamental changes. Toward Islam the Ming dynasty at that time had adopted the policy of "guiding and transformation", diminished its foreign trade in its economic development and promoted the policy of "emphasizing agriculture yet restraining commerce". To this end, the Muslim communities in China must adapt to this state of affairs, and facilitate its conscious internal transformation for its effective integration with the Chinese society and culture.

During the restoration period, early Ming rulers encouraged the commercial aspects of Muslims' development, with an active diplomacy of "Houwangbolai" (a big country giving more and receiving less). Ming dynasty not only made manifest their policy of "preferential treatment regarding taking the corvée" to these foreign ethnic groups, so that they "will receive equal welfare with the Chinese people", but also sent the Hui Muslim general Zheng He (1371–1435) to lead the fleet to sail the western ocean seven times, displaying the Ming Dynasty' strength and power, "unfolding a scenario of the Chinese lording it over the seas" (Joseph Needham). Zhen He's fleet had been to more than 30 countries and areas, expanding the scope of the maritime silk road, promoting political, economic and cultural exchanges between Asian and African countries and regions, and enhancing the development of the religions, especially Islam, in these regions. This feat earned Zheng He the title of "the first one to sail around the globe", and the Muslims an elevated position in the Ming dynasty. Although this was only a brief brilliance on the part of the Maritime Silk Road in the early Ming, it did have important historical significance and unique inspiration for today's development.

Since the Ming dynasty, the two systems of Islam formed at the end of the Yuan Dynasty became more obvious, and led to the maturity of the 10 Islamic ethnic minorities, with their own belonging to the two systems. In terms of the geographic distribution, the Hui, Salar, Dongxiang and Bonan ethnic minorities with Islamic faiths were the main Muslim ethnic groups living in mainland China. The Hui nationality is the most widely distributed ethnic minority in China, belonging to the

³⁰Refer to Qin (1995a, b, c, d).

Sunni Islam, and observing the Hanafi School of teachings. China's Hui ancestors were the descendants of Arabs and Persians who settled in China during the Tang and Song dynasties. In their historical evolution, their ethnicity was formed in the process of inter-marriages with Han Chinese, Mongols and Uighurs; in terms of language and culture, they became much closer to the Han nationality yet retained their Islamic beliefs and customs.

Also known as "Salazu", "Salahui", "Salaer", etc., Salar nationality was formed by one east migrant Sarrukh branch of the West Turkic Oghuz tribe who lived in Samarqand in Central Asia. Its evolution history also involved inter-marriages with the Han and Tibetan nationalities. Initially they only upheld and practiced the Suni Hanafiyah, and with the later addition of Sufi Huasi menhuan and Jahariya menhuan, there arose sect conflicts. The ancestors of Dongxiang nationality were the Sart people in Central Asia, who in the 13th century followed Genghis Khan's westward expeditions to settle in Dongxiang in Hezhou (now Linxia, Gansu), and thus got their nationality's name. Their nationality formation was linked with inter-marriages with the local Han, Mongolian and Hui peoples, and in their development formed sects of Ahl al-Sunnah, Beizhuang menhuan, Humen menhuan, Zhangmen menhua, etc. Bao'an nationality was also called "Bao'an Hui", formed by the fusion of Mongolian Muslims, Central Asia "Huihui people", Han people, Tibetan people, and the Turkish people. Since the Ming Dynasty built security camps (Bao'an ying), and security forts (Bao'an bao), which later developed into the famous "Three Treasures of Bao'an", that is, Bao'an city, Xia Zhuang and Gasaer; thereafter, Bao'an became the name for their nationality, believing in Sunni Islam, and observing the Hanafi teachings.

The other system included the six minority ethnic groups of Uygur, Kazak, Kirgiz, Uzbek, Tatar and Tajik, mainly distributed in the western regions (the present-day Xinjiang and Central Asia). "Uighur" means "solidarity", "league", "union" and "combination". Its nationality was formed by Huihe (Ouigour) Khanate and later Gaochang Uighur after wiping off the Turk Khanate during the Tang Dynasty. They used the Turkic, Ouigour and the later Arabic letters to create their own Uighur language, introduced Islam during the Karakhanid Empire, and reached their zenith of development in the Yuan Dynasty. The Kazak nationality resulted from the ethnic integration of Huns, Wusun, Alan and others since the beginning of the Han dynasty, and around the mid-15th century separated from the Uzbek Khanate to form their nationality, which was marked by the establishment of Kazakh Khanate, with Islam as the ethnic religion. Kirghiz, or the "mountain man", originally migrated from the upper Yenisei river of southern Siberia. As early as the 3rd century BC, they moved to the vicinity of the Tianshan mountains due to the oppression of the Huns of North of the Gobi desert. In 840 they overthrew the Uighur Khanate and established Kirgiz Khanate, and since the 10th century, Islam had been gradually introduced. The Uzbeks originally belonged to Uzbek Khan of the Mongolian Kipchak in the 14th century, with Muslim as their main religious faith. The *Chronicles of the Yuan Dynasty* called it "Yuejibie" or "Yuezubie", and in the late 15th century they went down south, occupied Bukhara, Samarkand, and Tashkent, and integrated with the local residents to form the Uzbek. The term

“Tatar” is historically the transliteration of “Tartars”, identical in meaning to “Dadan”, “Dada” and “Da dan”. In the 13th century it evolved from the Kazan Khanate of Kipchak, a result of the fusion of the Turkic speaking tribes of Kipchaks and Mongolians. The Tajik belonged to the European race, whose national history dated back to the ancient tribes of Sogdians, Tocharians, Bactrians, etc., who lived in Pamir, using the East Iranian language. In the 1st century they founded the Qiepantuo in Taxkorgan, marking the beginning of Tajik. Ever since the 11th century, this ethnic group had been embracing the Ismaili sect of Shiite Islam, thus differing from the other nine ethnic minorities that believed in Sunni Islam. These ten ethnic minorities have kept their faith up to the present day, with inseparable historical and cultural ties to Islam.

Chinese Muslims, most of whom belonged to the Hui nationality, in the Ming Dynasty consciously strengthened their identification with, study and use of the Chinese culture. The most important feature of this period was the rise and prosperity of the Islamic mosque education. With the progression of closed-door policy of the Ming Dynasty, Chinese Muslims’ contact with the outside world was reduced; meanwhile, the popularity of Chinese among Hui Muslims, and the gradual oblivion of the Arabic and Persian languages led to the manifest crisis of the understanding and existence of the Islamic faith in mid-Ming. For this reason, a group of Muslim intellectuals began to experiment with new ways to promote their faith tradition and reverse this adverse situation. The key breakthrough of it was to develop the unique Chinese Islamic social and public mosque education that transcends the limits of traditional family education. The mosque education was initiated by Hu Dengzhou (1522–1597), a native of Weicheng, in Xianyang City of Shaanxi Province. Feeling poignantly that “Scriptures are in shortage, scholars decline, the translated texts are not clear enough, and expounding has no theoretical resort”, he “decidedly took on the mission of finding the right path”, and was determined to “set up a teaching center at home”, to translate scriptures, and to “form the laws for all generations to follow”. Hence, he pioneered in promoting China’s mosque education, forming its “Shaanxi school”.³¹ Islamic mosque education in China aimed at religious education and training Imams, with the formation of a variety of schools, and Hu Dengzhou’s disciples set the trend of Chinese mosques setting up schools. The mosque education at first had only the nature and scope of “Sishu” (old-style private schools), but it kept expanding in its development, to eventually provide full sets of professional and systematic courses from primary, through secondary to university level education. Its elementary schools belongs to elementary education, with courses of Arabic letters, recitation of the “Islamic testimonial words”, the daily religious life “prayers”, common-sense knowledge of bathing, worship and fasting, and selected readings of the Quranic texts; the Middle School education belongs to the category of secondary education, which might be set in the elementary mosque education as its senior class, or in a

³¹Refer to *A Reader of the Knowledge of the Five Major Religions in China*, Social Sciences Academic Press, 2007, p. 264.

mosque university as its junior class; thus it possesses a transitional nature. University education belongs to the Higher Education, consisting mainly of schools that train imams, termed by students as “Hailifan” or “Manla”.³²

In the late Ming Dynasty, Chinese Islamic mosque education also triggered Chinese Muslim scholars’ Chinese translation and writing activities. This tradition continued till the Qing dynasty, with famous scholars such as Wang Daiyu, Ma Zhu, Liu Zhi, and Ma Fuchu, who were “both Hui Muslims and Confucians at the same time”; they “expounded the Islamic texts through Confucianism”, highlighted doctrines of “loyalty to the monarch”, “filial piety” and “the way of zhong or the Middle Way”, and promoted the in-depth communication between Islamic doctrines and Chinese culture and ideology. Of the Hui nationality in Jin Ling, Wang Dai-Yu (about 1584–1670) was well-read, painstakingly compared Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism and Islam, and was thus known as “master of the four teachings”. His works included a translation of *Zhengjiao Zhenquan* (“A True Explanation of the Right Religion”), writings of *Qingzhen Da Xue* (“The Great learning of Islam”) and *Xizhen Zhengda* (“Rare and True Answers”), etc. He put forth the “renzhu xue”, that is, the notions of the Real One (zhenyi), the Numerical One (shuyi), and the Embodied One (tiyi), as well as the filial ethics of “being loyal to Allah and more loyal to the father monarch equals to the right way”, which interfuses Islam and Confucianism; he was thus deemed as the first Chinese Muslim scholar to systematically expound Islam. A native Hui of Jinchi in Yunnan province, Ma Zhu (1640–1711) wrote *Jingquan* (Scriptures and Transformations), *Qingzhen zhinan* (*A Guide to Islam*), *Chuoqiao Anthology*, etc. He thought he had got the “supreme truth” of “Cultivating the self, regulating the family, governing the state and pacifying the world” in expounding the Islamic scriptures. Liu Zhi (ca. 1662–ca. 1730), was a Chinese Hui Muslim of Jiangningfu shangyuan (the present-day Nanjing), who also used Islamic learning to integrate the different schools of thought with his wide learning and his hundred books and translations such as *Tianfang Xingli* (The Metaphysics of Islam or The Philosophy of Arabia), *Tianfang Dianli* (The Rites of Islam), *Tianfang Zhisheng Shilu* (The Real Record of the Last Prophet of Islam), *Wugong shiyi* (Expounding the Five Pillars of Islam), *Tianfang sanzijing* (The Three-Character Classic of Islam), *Tiangfang zimu jieyi* (Explaining the Letters of Islam), *Zhenjing zhaowei* (Displaying the Concealment of the Real Realm), etc. He devoted himself to astronomy, geography, human physiology, or “three poles of learning”; he not only compiled “The Last Sage of Islam” of Muhammad’s records, but also perceived Confucian teaching as the most holy law, declaring that “the teachings of the sages, east or west, ancient or modern, were identical”; he synthesized the Neo-Confucianism of the Song and Ming Dynasties to expound the metaphysics of Islam, compared the Chinese traditional studies of Tao and Sufism to understand mysticism, and pointed out that Islam is “the Tao that has teaching yet no idol, or the teaching that has law but no body”, resulting in the correlation between the Islamic five pillars and the exploration of heaven-man relationship, the climactic

³²Refer to Shoujiang and You (2000b, c, d).

dialogues between Islam and Confucianism at the time, and the powerful promotion of the Chinese translation activities of the Islamic classics. A Hui of Taihe in Yunnan Province, Ma Fuchu (1794–1874), feeling that in his middle life, he had not been able to “obtain the true teaching transmission, or meet a well-known master”, performed the Hajj to Mecca in 1841; later he traveled widely the Middle-eastern countries and studied in Southeast Asia; after returning to China, he set tents to teach, and for a time “learners of the four directions came to study under him like the numberless stars and clouds, which was such a grand phenomenon”; Ma’s works and translations included *Final Destiny of the Universe* (Dahua zonggui), *Essence of the Four Canons* (Sidian Yaohui), *The Purpose of Mind and Destiny* (Xingming zongzhi), *Great Ode in Worshipping Heaven* (Zhutian dazan), *Mottoes in Awakening the World* (Xingshi zhen), *The True Operation of the Tao* (Daoxing jiujiing), *The Essential Tao for the Awakened and the Unawakened* (Xingmi yaodao), *Reasonable Evidence to Confront the Truth* (Juli zhizheng), *Magnificent Songs from Islam* (Tianfang haoyinge), etc., and his translation of the five volumes of *Baoming Zhenjing zhijie* (A Direct Explanation of the Treasured Mandate of the True Scripture) were the first selected Chinese translations of the Quran; in addition, he compiled the earlier translated works of *Essential Records of the True Interpretation*, *Essential Words of the Guide*, *Notes of the Islamic Metaphysics*, *Treasured Teachings from the True Records of the Last Sage*, etc., as textbooks for mosque education.³³ Led by these four famous Muslim writers, Ming and Qing Islam began its all-round and in-depth dialogue and exchange with traditional Chinese thinking and culture, and in the interpretation of writings and translations, Mosque architecture, local customs and other aspects are detected the existence of Chinese elements and a manifestation of the Chinese style.

4.3.3 The Rise of Chinese Islamic Schools and Menhuan

Qing Dynasty marked the growing maturity of Chinese Islam and also the period in which Islam gradually assumed its Chinese features. “In terms of Chinese Islam itself, there were four significant events in the Qing Dynasty: (1) the formation of Chinese Islamic doctrinology; (2) the emergence of the schools of Islam; (3) the uprisings of Muslims; and (4) the development of mosque education.”³⁴ The emergence of Chinese Islamic schools and menhuan expresses its budding Chinese self-consciousness and meanwhile reflects certain features of traditional Chinese culture and the local cultures concerned, the organic co-structuring of which forms its unique Chinese features. From the perspective of its relationship with world

³³Refer to *A Reader of the Knowledge of the Five Major Religions in China*, Social Sciences Academic Press, 2007, pp. 264–274.

³⁴Refer to Qin (1995a, b, c, d).

Islams, Chinese Muslims are mostly Sunni Muslims except the Shiite faith of the Tajik nationality and teachings of the Twelve Imams followed by a small number of Uighurs. Whereas, in observance of religious regulations and disciplines, most follow Al-Hanafiyah, apart from a small number of believers in Xinjiang who follow Al-Shāfiyah. Of the many schools of Islam after its entry to China, the more influential ones include the three major schools of Qadim, Ahl al-Sunnah and Xidaotang, as well as the four major menhuan of Krufiyi, Jahriyyah, Gadalinye and Kubulinye. “Menhuan” refers to the Islamic branch formed through the combination of Sufi Islam with the Chinese feudal clans after its entry into China. It initially used its original Sufi school name as its title and the later naming accorded with the features of its prayers and hymns. The term “menhuan” came into being in the middle of the Qing Dynasty, with its coinage by Ma Xianzhong (1736–1795), the sixth hierarch of the Mufti School in Beixiang, Linyao of Gansu Province in the reign of Emperor Qianlong. In reward for his improvement of the Hui-Han relationship, the Qing court granted him the title of Tongling (commander) and the sects in Hezhou under his guidance were termed “qimenbahuan”, hence the term “menhuanjia”, which appeared in the official document “A Plead for Reducing the Islamic Menhuan” by Yang Zengxin, the governor of Hezhou in the 23rd year of Emperor Guangxu (1897), and had thus started its gradual circulation.

The term “Qadim” is transliterated into Gedimu, Gedemu, etc., meaning “old teaching”, “school that reveres the classical” or “ancient practice”; it is regarded as the numerically largest school or the mainstream school. Consisting mainly of the nationalities of Hui, Salar, Dongxiang, Baoan and Uighurs, etc., it is popular in the regions of Gansu, Qinghai and Xinjiang provinces. In terms of its features, its doctrines belong to the Sunni School; followers observe the “Six Major Beliefs” and the “The Five Pillars of Islam”. Qadim has the system of jiaofang (teaching workshops) with the mosque as its center, and the imams, Khatibs and Mu’adhdhins (with the change to Akhonds, second Akhonds and Mu’adhdhins at the end of the Qing Dynasty) are in charge of the management of the mosques; the mosque education is actively promoted and the combined development is advocated to seek commonalities through “expounding Islam with Confucianism”.

Yihewani or Al Ikhwan al Muslimun, which means “brothers”, emphasizes the “Muslim Brotherhood”. Due to its late emergence at the end of the 19th century, it was called “new religion”, “newly arising religion”, “newly arising school”, or “new practice”; Also titled “(Ahl al-Sunnah”, meaning “the school that reveres the scriptures” or “the school of holy practice”, it advocated “following the book and eliminating customs” and “practicing the teaching by observing the scriptures”. The school was founded by Imam Ma Wanfu (1849–1934), a native of Dongxiang nationality in Hezhou (the present-day Linxia) of Gansu Province, after his return from his Hajji in 1892. He put forth the ancient restoring concept of “by the Quran alone”, even calling on the “destruction of menhuan and the overthrowing of gongbei”, and holding a negative view of some Sufi practices. He upheld ten principles regarding doctrines and rituals, including “one chants the Quran and the others listen, instead of group chanting of it; no one should eulogize loudly Allah or the saints; no one should have their palms together and chant du’a (duwa,

invocation of God) during worship; no one shall worship in gongbei or daotang; imams are not to be invited to preside over tawba (repentance) in a gathering; the death anniversaries are not to be commemorated; no atonement of sins of the deceased is to be carried out through the Quran; merits outside the Five Pillars of Islam are to be encouraged; the principle of easy implementation is to be employed in handling Islamic laws; no one should chant the Quran for others; etc.”³⁵ But this school advocated the “dual emphasis of Chinese and Arabic”, encouraged the proselytization of Islamic doctrines in Chinese, and stressed mosque education. After 1937, the school split into Su Sect and the Bai Sect; the Su Sect was headed by Gasuge, had a large number of followers, and therefore advocated the one-time lifting up the hand during worship, thus called “the one time lifting sect”; the Bai Sect was headed by Baizhuang, had a small number of followers, and because it advocated lifting up the hand three times during worship, it was called the “three-time lifting sect.

Xidaotang, originally called Jinxingtang, was founded in 1903 by Ma Qixi (1857–1914), a Chinese Muslim from Lintan in Gansu; in 1909, it was renamed Xidaotang. Under the influence of Liu Zhi, it advocated the use of Chinese translations as its missionary basis, and thus was called the “Han-school-sect”. Xidaotang was a Chinese Islamic menhuan that successfully integrated Chinese culture; it highlighted that “based on Islamic doctrines and adherence to ancient Islamic orthodoxy, our community propagated the teachings of Jielian (Liu Zhi), promoted Islamic principles with native Chinese culture, and aimed at making Chinese fellow countrymen understand the Islamic doctrines.”³⁶ It combined organically Islamic doctrines and the Chinese Daotang, emphasizing the dual focus of Jiaocheng (vehicle of teaching) and the Daocheng (vehicle of the way), all for purposes of “cultivating the self with propriety, awakening the heart with the way, fulfilling human nature and returning to destiny, and restoring all to truth”. And its difference with other schools is the emphasis on education, personnel training, establishing schools, raising the cultural level of believers, implementing collective life within the Daotang, and with the collective strength, doing business, farming and industry to achieve a unique style of synthesis of religious communities and economic associations.

The Ishan (Persian, meaning “they”, a term for “leader”) School is also known as Yichan, or Yishan; with features of Islamic mysticism, it is broadly termed “the Sufi School”, “the School of Mysticism”, “Supramundane School”, etc. In the Yuan Dynasty, with the entry of the the Sufi order, it came into being in Xinjiang, and “around 13th century, the descendants of Bukhara Shaikh (Elder) senior Mawla Shuzhawuding and the ancestors of senior Mawla Rashid—al—Din Khwaja, who were exiled by Ghengis Khan to Lob-katak between Turpan and Khotan, started to spread Ishan teachings. Later, Rashid—al—Din assisted Tughlugh Timur Khan in

³⁵Refer to *A Reader of the Knowledge of the Five Major Religions in China*, Social Sciences Academic Press, 2007, p. 258.

³⁶Ibid., p.257.

promoting Islam in the north of Mount Tianshan, and the Rashid—al—Din clan was granted the hereditary elders' privileges in ruling Kuqa, Aksu, Wushi, and other regions, becoming the hereditary Sufi chieftains in the south of Mount Tianshan. The Khwaja-Ishan influence had been developing ever since.”³⁷ Here “Ishan” refers in a religious sense to the Daotong rank and the hereditary Vehicle of the Way, while Khwaja or Hezhuo (Khvaje in Persian, meaning “noble person-ages”, “the rich”, or a honorific address to the descendants of Muhammad or the Caliphs, in other words, “people of sacred descents”) connotes hereditary status and noble privileges. “The Hezhuo nobles possessing the Ishan ranks (Daotong ranks or the Vehicle of the Way ranks) and the Ishans having the Hezhuo identity (hereditary status) led to the full development of Ishanism and the Ishan School, which grabbed greater secular power, or became more feudalized.”³⁸ During 15th to 17th centuries, the lands of Ishan had become an important support for serfdom in the Uighur region. Based on the Sunni and absorbing Shia ideas, the Ishan also incorporated Sufi mysticism to practice abstinence and other ways of cultivation, added some Uighur customs, integrated religious and secular powers, co-structured the economic and the military, and thus exerted a huge influence in Xinjiang. The Ishan School later evolved into four major branches of Khuflyyah, Jahariyah, Suhrawardiyyah, and Laxitiyah, of which Khuflyyah was subdivided into White Mountain Sect and Black Mountain Sect, and Suhrawardiyyah into Yinakyah, Dawarniyah, Yixikeyah, etc.

In the four major menhuans of Chinese Islam, Khuflyyah, also known as “Low Voice Sect” or “Low Chanting Sect”, got its name from its Arabic transliteration, meaning “concealment” and “low voice”; it is characterized by chanting the prayers in a low voice, advocating “tranquility in noisiness, the ability to cultivate the Vehicle of the Way in “the bustling secular world today” and the persistent daily practice. Khuflyyah entered Xinjiang around the 16th century, and its emergence in the inland was during the Kangxi Era of the Qing Dynasty. Mal Laichi (1681–1766) started to found the Huasi Menhuan in the 12th year (1734) of the Reign of Emperor Yongzheng, which later branched into 21 sub-menhuans and used gongbei as the locale for practice and teaching; its clerical positions were divided into the three levels of Murshid, Khalifah and Murid, with Linxia and Lanzhou of Gansu Province as its areas of distribution.

Also known as “Loud Voice Chanting Sect”, as contrary to Khuflyyah, Jahariyah was called New Teaching at the time and was named according to its Arabic transliteration, meaning “public”, “resounding” and “loud”; it advocated “chanting dhikr loudly”. This menhuan entered Shache County, Kashi Prefecture, etc. of Xinjiang Province in the 16th century via Central Asia, and spread to Gansu, Ningxia, Qinghai and other provinces with the efforts of Ma Mingxin (1719–1781). The clash between Jahariyah and Huasi Menhuan led to the Su Sishisan Rebellion in 1781, and after the defeat, Ma was killed; the Sect waged one more anti-Qing

³⁷Shoujiang and You (2000a)

³⁸Ibid., p. 135.

uprising in 1784 to avenge his death; after its suppression it rebelled again in 1862, only to meet its failure in 1870; and since that it had been having compromises with the government and local powers. Despite its countless defeats and suppressions, it was still the *menhua* that had the widest circulation, the greatest influence and the most followers. Its doctrines highlighted “revering Allah and praising the sages; following the Quran and obeying the teachings”, advocating the priority of the Vehicle of Teaching followed by the Vehicle of the Way. During the five pm worship, followers chanted “*dhikr*” loudly. It had Daotang, *jiaoqu* (diocese) and *jiaofang* (mosque) as the three levels of authorities, with the three-in-one management system of sheikh, Ra’is and the teaching Ahong. The succession of the sheikh evolved from the meritorious to the hereditary; the followers should answer the call of the Sheikh and have firm beliefs in “sacrificing for Allah”; in the tradition, Gongbei was revered, the male followers wore the black and white *Liujiaomao*, with no sideburns, and the female followers did not wear Hijabs. From this sect later emerged quite a few independent sub-menhuans, about over 830 mosques altogether, distributed in provinces such as Gansu, Ningxia, Qinghai, Xinjiang, Shanxi, Yunnan and Guizhou.

Gadalinye, or Gadilinye, is the Arabic transliteration, originating from the word Qadir in the name of the founder of Qadiriyyah, that is, Abd al-Qadir Gilani (1078–1166). In the beginning years of the Qing Dynasty, the School was spread to the areas of Gansu, Qinghai and Ningxia by Khawāja Abdullah, who claimed to be a descendant of Mohammad; it was later divided into the three sects of Qimen, Xianmen and Mamen (Yunnan Ma), and developed into many branch menhuans, including the Great Gongbei Menhuan, Jiucaiping Menhuan, and other famous menhuans. Influenced by Taoism, the school advocated the “Way” first and the “Teaching” second, believing that “in the Way there is the teaching” and the “teaching” consisted of the words of Muhammad while the “Way”, transcending nature and creation, was eternal. Therefore, the School stressed practicing the Vehicle of the Way, and advocated persevering practice to be awakened to the Way, believing that strict observance of the Five Pillars of Faith would not enable one to “approach Allah” and “recognize Allah” while the “Way” was the “Root Self-So”, the “True One” and the “Only One”, and that only through cultivating the self, nourishing nature, and sitting in meditation for awakening could one return to the root and origin, so as to truly “approach Allah” and “recognize Allah”. Its mosques had the system of singular *Jiaofang* (Muslim settlement); the Ahong was elected by followers; its activities were centered around Gongbei and places of earlier sages’ cultivation; and the areas of its distribution included Gansu, Ningxia, Qinghai, Shanxi, Sichuan, etc.

Kubrawiyyah also resulted from the Arabic transliteration, meaning “the Great One”. It originated from the Kbulawe Sect founded by the Sufi School’s Najmuddin Kubulawe in the 13th century. During the reign of Emperor Kangxi, it spread to China through the efforts of the Arab Muhuyinden, who had been on his missions to China three times in Guangdong, Guangxi, Hunan, Hubei, Gansu and other provinces, and eventually settled in Dongxiang Dawantou in Hezhou of Gansu Province. He later changed his name to Zhang and became a member of the

Dongxiang Nationality, hence the menhuan of “Zhang men (Gate of Zhang), Dawantou”. Rooted in the *Quran* and the Hadith, the sect observed and practiced the Five Pillars of Faith, advocated conscientious cultivation and meditation, and most practitioners resided in the caves for cultivation, usually for a duration ranging from 40 to 120 days. Linxia, Dongxiang, Kangle, Lanzhou and other areas of Gansu Province were the locales for its practitioners.

Such menhuan groups normally regarded Shaykh as the supreme spiritual and secular leader for its followers. Shaykh entrusted Ra’is to manage the religious activities of different locales, while on the grassroots level, the managing Ahong was in charge of the religious activities and presided over the rituals. These menhuans usually practiced the veneration of the heads or patriarchs of their religion, and built burial mounds or Gongbei for the founders and leaders as well as their family members; thus, Gongbei became the religious symbol of menhuan. Besides, the inheritance and development of these menhuans had the guarantee of the hereditary mechanism, formulating their System of Hereditary Succession marked by “Daotong”. In sum, the system of Chinese menhuan had undergone complicated evolutions from the religious organizations characterized by Islamic Sufi mysticism in the Middle East and Central Asia to the Chinese grassroots Islamic groups, with certain Chinese feudal and patriarchal elements infused; in this way, the system of menhuan exhibited both the relevant features of Islamic worship and the basic structure of the Chinese feudal patriarchy, thus influencing the modern development of Chinese Islam.

4.3.4 Ideological and Cultural Features of Chinese Islam

In its long process of development, Chinese Islam strives to preserve the fundamental spirit of its traditional beliefs and the basic principles of the holy *Quran* and *Hadith*, and has formed its distinctive Chinese characteristics by absorbing the gist of Chinese Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism. In terms of doctrines, Wang Daiyu, Liu Zhi and others carried out an organic combination of the Islamic “recognize the only Lord” and the Cheng-Zhu Neo-Confucian “Tai Chi/Great Ultimate”. All things are unified in the five elements, which are in turn unified in the Yin-Yang, which is once more unified in the Tai Chi (or Non-Ultimate); this theory led to the “Original Creator of All” that precedes both the Great Ultimate and the Non-Ultimate, in other words, the “True God” or Allah revered in the Islamic faith. It thus preserves and interprets the basic Islamic belief that “There Is No God but Allah” by means of the Chinese religious and philosophical conceptions.

In terms of Daotong, Chinese Islam, according to the Chinese conception of “Daotong”, puts forth the conceptual system of Sancheng or Three Vehicles. Synthesizing its Sufi features of mysticism, it advocates that “approaching God” and “recognizing God” require three processes or levels, namely, “the Vehicle of Teaching”, “the Vehicles of the Way” and “the Vehicle of the Truth”. “The Vehicle of Teaching” has its origin in the Arabic “Shari’ah” and is also known as “the

vehicle of propriety” or “the eternal way”, that is, the “approaching God” and “recognizing God” should be carried out through the six major beliefs as stipulated by the Islamic law and rituals such as the Five Pillars of faith, prayer, charity, fasting and pilgrimage to Mecca. “The Vehicle of the Way” has its root in the Arabic “*Talika*”, also known as “the Middle Way”, that is, the “approaching God” and “recognizing God” should be carried out through mystical cultivations of purity, honesty, protection, nourishment and prayers. “The Vehicle of Truth” is based on the Arabic “*Hakica*”, also termed “the supreme way”, that is, the transcendental realm of “non-self, emptiness of heart, and One God” is attained through nourishing nature and enlightening your heart to see your true self”, with the ultimate goal of the unity of Heaven and the Way and the unity of God and man. This concept is interpreted in terms of different levels and degrees in Chinese Islam: “those who attain the Vehicle of Teaching may handle issues of the world; those who attain the Vehicle of the Way only forget the world; and only those that attain the Vehicle of Truth may be detached from the world to be saints.” Whereas, in the corresponding “*Zikr*”, in which Allah is eulogized and prayed to, is recorded “the Vehicle of Teaching is chanted orally; the Vehicle of the Way is chanted mindfully; and the Vehicle of Truth is chanted with heart.” The relationship of the three is described by Ma Zhu as follows, “the Vehicle of Teaching is like the human body, the Vehicle of the Way the human heart, and the Vehicle of Truth the human life; the body without a heart is a puppet, and the body that has a heart yet no life is a called a walking corpse”. Its logic is that “the ‘*Li*’ or the Teaching is likened to the boat, the ‘*Dao*’ or the Way to the sea, and the ‘*Zhen*’ or truth to the pearl; and the purpose for building the boat is to sail the seas, and the sailing of the seas aims to locate the pearl.”³⁹ However, different *menhuans* have varying emphases, as in “*Khuflyyah* advocates the co-emphasis of the Vehicle of Teaching and the Vehicle of the Way; *Qadiriyyah* stresses that the Vehicle of the Way incorporates the Vehicle of Teaching; *Kubrawiyyah* stresses the simultaneous promotion of the Vehicle of the Way and the Vehicle of Teaching; and the *Jahriyyah* prioritizes the Vehicle of Teaching over the Vehicle of the Way”.⁴⁰

With regards to the relationship of politics and religion, Chinese Islam, like Buddhism, understood China’s political and religious situation as marked by the fact that “without compliance with the monarch, the religion cannot be established”; therefore, it tried to reconcile, unify and harmonize the Confucian order of “three cardinal principles and five virtues” and the Islamic faith of being loyal to Allah, arguing that being loyal only to the father monarch and not to Allah is not “true loyalty”, while being loyal only to Allah and not the father monarch is not the “right way”. Thus, in the Islamic tradition, an equal and simultaneous loyalty to both Allah and the monarch, with the addition of filial piety, consummates “the three righteous things in one’s life”.

³⁹Jiyu (1998).

⁴⁰Shoujiang and You (2000b, c, d).

Regarding ethics and morality, Chinese Islam integrates the Confucian ethics into the teaching and interpretation of its *Quran* and *Hadith*. For instance, Liu Zhi in his *Tianfang Dianli (The Rites of Islam)* employed the five Confucian aspects of “monarch-ministers, father-son, husband-wife, brothers and friends” to reconstruct the Islamic “Five Codes”, clarified the relationship between the family, the state and the people with Allah’s creation and his construction of the Five Ethical Virtues (Five Codes), and introduced to Islam the Confucian practical ethics and human relations of “self-cultivation, family regulation, state governance and world pacification”.

In cultural customs, Chinese Islam, while introducing the Arabic, Persian and Central Asian cultural styles into the Chinese society, considered manifesting Chinese elements, as applying traditional Chinese palace and Siheyuan (courtyard house) architectural styles to the mosque construction, with the courtyard enclosures outside the mosques, the screen wall in front of the gate, together with the various carved beams and painted rafters, hanging plaques and couplets, pillar carvings and inscriptions, stone balustrades, and brick pagodas, all exhibiting Chinese images and scenes. In the religious festivals, Chinese Muslims also incorporated Chinese implications to the traditional Chinese festivals, such as the understanding of the Corban Festival as “Festival of Loyalty and Filial Piety”, the extension of the connotation of “Sacred Commemoration” in Festival of Mohammad’s Birthday, the addition of salvation spirit to the “Xifan jie” during the Ashura Holidays, the latent motherly love in “Gutai jie” during the Fatima Festival, etc., all assuming the unique charm and scenes of the Chinese festivals. And Chinese Muslims’ naming, clothing, marriages, funerals, etc., all have organic connections and ingenious expressions related to the Chinese culture. In so doing, during the process of indigenization, Chinese Islam has been in ever closer connections with the Chinese society, and its integration into the Chinese culture has been more and more harmonious.

4.3.5 The Modern Development of Chinese Islam

Since the revolution of 1911, Chinese Islam has actively participated in the Chinese patriotic saving the nation from extinction and cultural renewals, and made an important contribution to the modern revival of Chinese society. In cultural education, the new schools founded by Chinese Muslims have sprung up since the beginning of the 20th century, and has participated substantially in the development of modern Chinese education. In 1906, the Muslim Tong Cong of Zhenjiang, Jiangsu, founded the Mu Yuan Academy, and Ma Linyi of Shaoyang, Hunan founded the Kai Jin Elementary School; in 1908, Wang Kuan founded the first Two-Level Elementary School in Beijing; in 1918, Ma Fuxiang founded the Ningxia Meng-Hui Normal School in Ningxia; in 1925, Ma Songting and others founded Chengda Normal School in Jinan; in 1927, Ma Junguo founded Chongshi Middle School in Jincheng; in 1928, Da Pusheng and others founded the Shanghai

Islamic Normal School in Shanghai, Zhou jisan and others founded the Wanxian Islamic Normal School in Wanxian County, Ma Yunting and others founded the Northwest Public School in Peking, and Sun Jishi and others founded Muxing Middle School in Hangzhou; and in 1931, Li Renshan and others founded Changde Islamic Middle School in Changde. From 1906 to 1949, Chinese Muslims had set up more than ten schools, among which Chengda Normal School was the most pioneering and prospective. The name Chengda projected the meaning of “attaining virtues and becoming talents”, and the school’s goal in education was to “mold teachers of integrity, enlighten the Hui’s wisdom and knowledge, and promote the culture of Islam. It mainly trained headmasters, imams and presidents, embodying its far-reaching aspiration and exceptional insight.”⁴¹ These Muslim schools have become an important part of modern Chinese education development.

In social development, Chinese Muslim intellectuals, aiming to “save the nation, save the people and save the religion”, set up social organizations, paid close attention to social development and participated in saving the Chinese nation. In 1912, Wang Kuan, Shou Deshan and others founded Chinese Muslim Progressive Association (Zhongguo Huijiao jujin hui), aiming at “uniting Hui people in China, promoting Islamic doctrines, enhancing the Hui’s knowledge, and elevating the Hui’s welfare” and “boosting education, consolidating the group and harmonizing Hui-Han relationships”.⁴² This group generated more than 200 branches, and initiated the “Muslim Light” Semi-monthly. Later, in 1920 in Changde was set up the Changde Islamic Education Association, in 1925 in Shanghai was established the Chinese Muslim Teaching Association, and in the same year in Guangdong was established the Guangdong Huijiao shenzhonghui (later changed to Guangdong Huijiao tongyihui), in 1928 in Peking was founded the Chinese Muslim Association, in 1929 in Shanghai was established the Chinese Muslim Association, in 1931 in Nanjing was established the Chinese Muslim Youth Institute, in 1934 in Shanghai was established the Chinese Muslim Culture Association, and in 1935 in Urumqi was established the Xinjiang Hui Progressive Association. With the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan, the Chinese Muslims actively involved themselves in the anti-Japanese national salvation, setting up the Chinese Muslim Anti-Japanese National Salvation Association in 1937 in Henan. And in Jizhong (the central areas of Hebei Province) the Muslims formed the Jizhong Military Region Hui Army Detachment, that is, the famous Ma Benzhai Muslim Detachment, whose heroic deeds on the battlefield of wiping out the enemies to repay the motherland enfolded a vivid portrayal of Chinese Muslims’ participation in the Anti-Japanese War.

After the founding of the People’s Republic of China, Bao Erhan, Liu Geping, Seypidin, Dapuson, Ma Jian, Pang Shiqian, Yang Jingren, Ma Yuhuai, Zhang Jie, etc. founded the Islamic Association of China Preparatory Committee in Beijing in

⁴¹Refer to Shoujiang and You (2000b, c, d).

⁴²Refer to *A Reader of the Knowledge of the Five Major Religions in China*, Social Sciences Academic Press, 2007, p. 259.

1952, with Bao Erhan as Director, and Dapuson and Yang Jingren as Deputy Directors. In 1953, the Islamic Association of China was officially established; henceforth Bao Erhan had been the Director for first three terms, and Honorary Director for the fourth and fifth terms; in 1980 Zhang Jie was elected the fourth Director; then Shen Xiaxi in 1987 acted as the fifth President; An Shiwei in 1993 acted as the sixth President; Chen Guangyuan acted as the President for the seventh, eighth and ninth terms since 2000. The Association's primary missions are as follows: "to unify and lead Muslims of all nationalities to support the leadership of the Communist Party and the socialist system; to observe national laws and regulations; to tread on the path of adapting Islam to socialism with Chinese features; to promote the admirable Islamic traditions of loving the country and loving the religion; to implement the reverence of Allah and the love of the people; to promote the dual blessings of this life and the next; to adhere to peace and the middle path; to stick to the interdependent operations of Islam; to preserve harmony between religions, unity of all nationalities, stability of the society, the unification of the country and the peace of the world; and to contribute to the development of economy and the society and the construction of a harmonious society." The Association was located in Beijing, in 1955 China Islamic Institute was founded, and the bimonthly and bilingual (Chinese and Uighur languages) *Chinese Muslims* had been initiated since 1957. At present the Chinese Muslims total about 20 million.

4.4 Ancient Chinese Nestorianism (Jingjiao)

Jingjiao was the earliest Christian sect that came to China, which originally was Nestorianism regarded as a heresy by ancient Catholicism. Oppressed and sidelined by Catholicism, it migrated east and had new developments in ancient Persia and Central Asia. And the Chinese Nestorianism was a religion tinged with eastern culture. The term Jingjiao itself exhibits colors of Persian religions, and the Christian Nestorianism, as its proto-type, spread to China only after its evolutions in Persia. Jingjiao had undergone two phases of development in China, the existence and development of Tang Dynasty Jingjiao together with its revival as Yelikewen with the dominance of Mongols in the Yuan Dynasty. Yet after the Yuan Dynasty, Jingjiao was no longer existent in China, but its existence represented the first entry of Christianity to China.

4.4.1 Tang Dynasty Jingjiao

Despite the various Pre-Tang legends that told about the entry of Christian missionaries to China, the exact historical documents evidenced that its earliest entry to China was the Tang Dynasty Jingjiao. The Nestorian Stele entitled "Stele to the

propagation in China of the luminous religion of Daqin” was unearthed in the third year (1623) of Tianqi of the Ming Dynasty, which disclosed this dust-sealed historical period. When the Danish scholar and adventurer Frits Holm came to Xi’an, where the stele was discovered, in the 33rd year (1907) of Emperor Guangxu with the plans to buy the monument with 3000 liang of gold and ship it to Europe, luckily the local Shanxi official Cao Hongxun intervened, and moved the stele to Xi’an’s Beilin Museum (Forest of Steles Museum), a place where the stele has been until today. In clear writing the stele depicted the Persian pope Alopen’s missionary experience in China via the Silk Road in the ninth year (635) of Zhenguan. Jingjiao originally means a luminous religion, since the Chinese character Jing has two parts of the ri (the sun) and the Jing (capital), combined to mean “the big sun” and “light”. In his *After Reading the Jingjiao Stele Inscriptions*, Li Zhizao explains that “Jing means big and luminous”. In his *An Explication of the Stele Inscriptions*, Emmanuel Diaz, a Christian missionary to China, thinks that “to understand the connotation of Jing is to understand the wonder of the sacred religion; Jing means the luminous and the vast”. “The character Jing inherently has certain connections with the characters for “fire” and “sun”, making one associate it with the ancient Persian religion of Zoroastrianism; hence initially Jingjiao was mistakenly termed Huo’ao Religion in China. “Jingjiao is Huojiao or the religion of fire; bing and ding are categorized into the element of fire, so Jingjiao is also termed Bingjiao in classical Chinese and came to be called Jingjiao so as to avoid the taboo of the Tang Dynasty” (*Answers to the Questions in Wuxie Hall*, Volume 2). Darijiao or the Great Sun Teaching is another name for the Tang Esoteric Buddhism, and in the Taoist classics could be found expressions like *Neijing Classic of the Yellow Emperor’s Internal Classic of Medicine*, so the character “Jing” could be readily accepted by the people. Having undergone the complications and evolutions from ancient Rome to ancient Persia, the inherent conceptions of Jingjiao became to the Tang people severely blurred, and even the “Stele to the propagation in China of the luminous religion of Daqin” itself would think that “the Way of the true and the constant is wonderful and hard to define; therefore, to expound and manifest its functions, we can expediently call it Jingjiao”. Thus, Jingjiao was initially termed the “Persian Religion”, and its churches were called “Persian Temples”, reflecting the entanglement between Jingjiao and the Persian civilization.

The entry of Jingjiao to China was directly related to the opening of the Silk Road and the exchange between different nationalities. To Chen Huan, its first entry was via the Maritime Silk Road, since “at that time China had frequent communications with the Persian Dashi, Islam probably came via the sea routes, and the Jingjiao Stele did have inscriptions of ‘observing the patterns of the winds to sail over the turbulent waters’”.⁴³ But this cannot wipe out the possibility that Jingjiao came to China on land routes, as pointed out by Zhu Qianzhi, to whom, “communication networks covered densely China and Persia, connecting China’s important cities of business...the Jingjiao followers came to China from Syria and

⁴³Chen (1980a, b).

Persia, and on route were mostly the east-west business pathways that witnessed the dense habitation of Jingjiao followers in locales such as Antioch, Seleucia Ctesiphon, Edessa and Merve, where the Jingjiao archbishop or bishops resided (i.e. Antioch and Seleucia Ctesiphon), or the places themselves acted as the strongholds of Jingjiao.⁴⁴ It should be said that Jingjiao was then a major religion active on the land and maritime Silk Roads as a bridge connecting the East and the West.

When Alopen and others came to the Tang Capital Chang'an in 635, he received a warm welcome from Emperor Taizong, who had a liberal attitude toward religion. The Emperor allegedly sent the Chancellor Fang Xuanling to welcome the missionaries at the western suburbs of Chang'an, and invited them to stay at his book repository building for translation and writing. Alopen's was probably the earliest Chinese translation of the Bible and Christian theology, which was not preserved, however. Emperor Taizong was curious about this alien religion that "had no unnecessary wording and focused only on the meaning". After listening to their expounding of the texts and the delivering of sermons, the Emperor had favorable impressions and allowed them to do missionary work. Jingjiao entered China in the Tang Dynasty, almost simultaneous with the Persian Zoroastrian and Manichean religions, hence the term "Three Foreign Religions of the Tang Dynasty", second only to Buddhism and Taoism in reputation.⁴⁵ Due to such historical origins and interconnections, it was called "Persian Religion", "Persian Religion of the Scriptures", or "Scriptural Religion", its missionaries "Persian Monks", and their churches "Persian temples". Whereas, Jingjiao and its later names were related to the interpretation of the character Jing at the time; therefore, in addition to the term "Jingjiao", the Tang people also called their hierarch "Jingri (Luminous Sun)", their associations "Jingmen (Luminous Gate)", their churches "Jingsi (Luminous Temples)", their missionaries "Jingshi (Luminous Figures)", their followers "Jingzhong (Luminous Masses)", their precepts "Jingfa (Luminous Rules)", their proselytization as "Jingfeng (Luminous Winds)", and their influence "Jingli (Luminous Strength)", "Jingfu (Luminous Blessing)", "Jingming (Luminous Destiny)", etc. With the in-depth understanding of this religion, it was also called "Daqinjiao (Daqin Religion)", "Mishike jiao", or the religion of the "Messiah", whom they revered as their savior.

Emperor Taizong ever issued an imperial decree to permit Jingjiao's missionary work and its construction of churches. "The Tao has no eternal name and the sage has no eternal body; religions should be set up as circumstances require to deliver all sentient beings; the Persian priest Alopen came from afar to present the scriptures and the teaching to our Capital; an in-depth examination of the religion reveals its mysterious wonders of wuwei; observance of its primal roots manifests its essential doctrines; it nourishes things and benefits people, and thus should be carried out across the world. The official in charge then ordered the construction a

⁴⁴Qianzhi (1993).

⁴⁵Refer to Wushu (2003).

temple in Yiningfang, with 21 monks (priests) ordained there.” (*Tang Huiyao* or *Institutional History of the Tang*, Volume 49) Under the support of Emperor Taizong, the flourishing of Jingjiao was described as “the Dharma flowing in the ten directions, the nation abounding in riches, temples filling hundred cities, families having riches, and Jingjiao bringing blessings”. Later, Emperor Gaozong of the Tang Dynasty continued this tolerant policy, ordering “all prefectures and counties to set up Jingjiao temples, appointing Alopen to be the Great Dharma King that protects the country”. Yet after Empress Wuzetian “assumed the throne and started her era”, she solely favored Buddhism and Jingjiao was severely oppressed, and not until Emperor Xuanzong took the throne did it turn better for Jingjiao. He used to have the dilapidated Jingjiao churches repaired, set up altars inside, asked the general of internal service to place the portraits of Gaozu, Taizong, Zhongzong and Ruizong therein, and granted “a hundred *pi* of silk to decorate and worship the blessed portraits.” In the fourth year (745) of Xuanbao in the reign of Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang Dynasty, Jingjiao’s “Persian Temple” changed its name to “Daqin Temple”, and the title “Jingjiao” was officially used, replacing the previous names such as “Persian Scriptural Religion”. This testified an enhanced understanding of Jingjiao, particularly its inherent connections with Daqin (the Eastern Roman Empire and areas under its influence). Xuanzong’s imperial decree stated that “the Persian Scriptural Religion originated in Daqin, spread to and circulated long in China. At the first construction of its temples, its name was thus applied. For it to be made manifest to the public, its root has to be preserved. The names of its Persian temples in the two capitals should be changed to Daqi Temples. All the other states and counties should all do accordingly.” (*Tang Huiyao* or *Institutional History of the Tang*, Volume 49) After succeeding the throne, Tang Emperor Suzong also supported Jingjiao, and appointed Jingjiao priest Yazebouزيد as Deputy Governor of Tongfangshuo, in a supportive role “as vassal and informant”. Later Yazebouزيد’s official rank was upgraded as high as Daifu (a senior official in feudal China) of golden purple emolument and Shidianzhongjian, and was granted a purple robe by Emperor Suzong. Jingjiao was still valued during the reigns of Emperors Daizong and Dezong of the Tang Dynasty. In the second year in the reign of Emperor Dezong (781, or the second year of Jianzhong of the Great Tang), “Stele to the propagation in China of the luminous religion of Daqin” was set up; the Jingjiao priest Adam wrote for it the “An Eulogy and Preface for the Stele to the propagation in China of the luminous religion of Daqin”, in which Alopen’s original “Persian monk” was changed to “great sage of the Daqin” and terms such as “Jingjiao”, “Daqin si” and “Jing si” became the more official sayings of the religion. Traces of this historical period could be found in the Stele inscriptions and the Daiqin temple remains.

Jing Jing (Adam) and others also participated in the translation of the Jingjiao texts. According to the Jingjiao document *Zunjing* (*Book of the Venerables*), there were in the Tang Dynasty about 530 volumes of Jingjiao documents, over 30 of which were translated into Chinese by Jing Jing and others. “According to the scriptural catalogs, the scriptures of Daqin Religion amounted to 530 volumes, in patra palm leaves Sanskrit. In the ninth year of Zhenguan era in the reign of

Emperor Taizong, Alopen, the great sage monk from the Western Regions, arrived at China and reported to the emperor in his own language. Fang Xuanling and Weizheng acted as the interpreter. Later Jing Jing, the Jingjiao monk of great virtue, was summoned to translate over 30 volumes of the above scriptures, and most of the rest remained in the patra palm leaf folders untranslated.”⁴⁶ However, because Jing Jing’s translations included Manichean and Buddhist classics, he participated in translating the Buddhist sutras and he was influenced by Taoist texts too, people suspected him of having “hybridity” in his translation. In the present-day Dunhuang Jingjiao texts are detected the mingling of Buddhist and Taoist texts and expressions, reflecting the same phenomenon that existed then. It was said that in the reign of Emperor Dezong, Monk Yuanzhao of the Ximing Temple recorded the then senior Huiyuan Monk Bore in collaboration with the “Daqin Temple Persian Monk Jing Jing in Translating seven volumes of *Mahaprajnaparamita Sutra* according to the Hu version. At the time, Bore was not skilled in the Hu languages, nor was he able to understand the Tang language; Jing Jing was illiterate about Sanskrit, nor was he able to understand Buddhism; though it was said to a translation, there was a not even speck of treasure within; it was all done for stealing an undeserved reputation, instead of a blessing; they intended to submit the translation to the authorities for circulation permission. And since the Buddhist Sangha and the Daqin monks are totally different in terms of their locales and practice; Jing Jing should preach the religion of the Messiah and the Buddhist Sramana should expound the Buddhist scriptures, so as to differentiate the teachings and clearly divide the practitioners; the good and the evil stay divergent, the Jing and Wei Rivers flow in different courses; just as a fishing net has the head-rope, all shall have regular sequence, so that heavenly beings have what they admire and the fourfold assemblies know what to adhere to.”⁴⁷ Despite the reproaches and criticisms, it did manifest the contact of different religions in the Tang Dynasty, when the earliest inter-religious dialogues between Buddhism and Christianity appeared, so did the encounter and exchange between relevant religious discourses, cultures and ideas.

In the fifth year (845) of Huichang in the Tang Dynasty, due to his hatred of Buddhist “monks and nuns exhausting and impairing the world”, Emperor Wuzong tried to wipe out Buddhism, and found it “suitable too to annihilate” the “foreign religions” of Jingjiao, Aojiao and Manicheism. “Over 2000 Daqin missionaries and Aojiao” were affected by the ban on religions (*Xin Tang Shu* or *New History of the Tang Dynasty*, Volume 52). Oppressed by Emperor Wuzong’s “wiping out evil cults”, Jingjiao had since been unable to rise up again, encountering its crowning calamity in the Central Plains of China. On the other hand, Jingjiao did not disappear totally in China after the Tang Dynasty; instead, it kept spreading along the Silk Road in the northwest frontiers where the minority nationalities resided,

⁴⁶*Expounding the Chinese Language Jingjiao Scriptures*, annotated by Weng Shaojun, Chinese Language Christianity Research Center, Zhuoyue Book Building, 1995, p. 203.

⁴⁷*Newly Revised Zhenyuan Buddhist Catalogue (Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu)*, refer to Zhuo (1998).

becoming the major faith for these nationalities. Prior to the unification of the desert by the Mongols, Jingjiao had been spreading and developing among these nomadic tribes, circulating, for instance, among the Kerait tribes residing in the Tura River and Orhon Gol Valley, the Naiman tribes near the Altai Mountains, the Merkits in the Selenge Valley, the Ongt tribes north of the Yinshan area, as well as the western regions' Uyghur ethnic groups, Qirqiz and other nationalities.

4.4.2 *Yuan Dynasty Jingjiao (Yelikewen)*

After about 200 years of silent stagnation, Jingjiao got a revival in the Yuan Dynasty, being active again in the Central Plains. The “resurrection” of Jingjiao in the Yuan Dynasty as “Yelikewen” and the entry of Catholicism to China marked the second wave of transmission of Christianity in China. The development of Jingjiao after the Tang and between the Song and Yuan Dynasties was also closely related to the Silk Road, and the major areas influenced were mostly in the Western Regions, or the utmost frontiers of East-West cultural exchanges. The existence and development of Jingjiao in these areas brought various legends and hopes to the far-away European Christian countries. For instance, there was a 12th-century legend that told of an Elder King John (or John the Prophet King), who believed in Jingjiao; he had been on his expedition to Perisa and Media to combat the Muslims during the setbacks experienced by the Crusaders, occupied Ek bata, and was thwarted in his actions to reclaim Jerusalem only due to the rising of the Tigris River. This legend was one of the major motives for European Catholics to send missionries to China from the 12th to the 14th centuries, resulting also in the increasing exchanges and correlations between Medieval Western Europe and China via the Silk Road.

According to historical records, the term “Jingjiao” was replaced by the expression “Yelikewen” in the Yuan Dynasty. “Yelikewen” was generally understood as the transliteration of the Mongolian expression for “a blessed person”. Chen Huan quotes that “according to the “Discourse of the States” of *The History of the Yuan Dynasty*, Yelikewen, is the Mongolian Yilulekun, with Yilule meaning “blessing” and kun “person”, a categorical name” (Volume 3); Yelikewen has another meaning of people with destined affinities (Volume 24).⁴⁸ Yet there are other interpretations of it. Zhang Xinglang, on the basis of Tu Ji’s “Record of Naiyan” in the *Mogolian Records of History*, argues that “Yelikewen” was a sound variation of “Aluohe” of the Tang Nestorian Stele, which is the transliteration of the Syrian “Eloh”, meaning “God”. Chen Huan too expressed that “I do believe that Yelikewen is the Mongolian transliteration of Acibi, which actually means the Aluohe as in the Jingjiao Stele inscriptions.”⁴⁹ In addition, “Yelikewen” is also understood as a reverential term for Catholic clergy, priests or monks.

⁴⁸Chen (1980a, b).

⁴⁹Ibid., P. 6.

“Despite the large number of explanations concerning the word “Yelikewen”, the consensus is that it is undoubtedly a term for Christianity. Chen Huan evidences that “a reading of the *Record of the Daxinguo Temple* and the canon chapters both reveal the expression of ‘Yelikewen’; thus, Yelikewen is a religion and not a name for a tribe; that is definite.” Since the Tang Dynasty, there had been various expressions regarding Christianity and the Christians, such as “Jingjiao”, “tersa”, “Tarsa”, etc. There seems to be no disagreement over the designation of “Yelikewen” as Jingjiao in the Yuan Dynasty, and in the Yuan documents are often found terms like Nestorianism to refer to Yelikewen. On the other hand, there is no resolute consensus concerning the designation of Yelikewen as Christianity in general or the Catholicism that entered China in the Yuan Dynasty in particular. In his *An Examination of the Yuan Dynasty Yelikewen Religion*, Chen Huan more or less admitted that the term “Yelikewen” included the reference to Catholicism. In his citation, he pointed out that “Liu Wenqi’s *Records of the Proofreading and Annotating the Zhi shun jiang zhi* stated that ‘the volume narrated the household registration of the foreign residents. The so-called Yelikewen refers to the Westerners. “Daxiangguo Temple” entry in Volume 9 records “Liang xiang ji” as saying that Xuemisixian situated over a hundred thousand li northwest of the Central Plains, an area where the Yelikewen religion was practiced. The religion was mainly concerned with worshiping the east. The cross got its image from the human body and the four directions, which became the standard for it. On this basis, it might be concluded that the Xuemisixian was a Western locale, and the Yelikewen was Catholicism.”⁵⁰ “There had been no earlier designations of Yelikewen as Catholicism than this. Liu Wenqi, a native of Yizheng in the Daoguang Era, was a guest scholar in Yuan Yuan’s household. This argument is not a far-fetched connection, more precise than the explanation in *Analysis of the Terms in the Yuan Dynsty History*.” “In Hongjun’s *Complements to the Translations of Yuan History*, there was the examination of the names for different religions, which stated that ‘Yelikewen refers to Catholicism, which can be evidenced by the stele remains at foot of the Beigu Mountain in Zhenjiang.’” “In Duo Sang’s *Biography of Xueliewu* were found expressions of the Mongols that regarded Alekewen as Catholicism...Alekewen being Yelikewen.”⁵¹ “Balachaoshi deemed Yelikewen as the Mongolian term Erkeun, initially referring specifically to Nestorian monks, and later as the general term for Christians.”⁵² In Chapter Two of his book, with content related to “the entry of Yelikewen missionaries to China, Chen Huan pointed out clearly at the beginning that “the connection of the Yuan Dynasty and Europe through emissaries was recorded in greater details in the Western documents. In today’s libraries in Paris are still located the original letters in Mongolian from the Yuan emperors to the kings of Frank.”⁵³ Obviously, researchers like Chen Huan

⁵⁰Ibid., pp. 2–3.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 3.

⁵²Ibid., p. 4.

⁵³Ibid., p. 6.

have no clear differentiations between Jingjiao and Catholicism, while in history the two sects were distinct from each other, and had had direct conflicts, as Montecorvino, the first Catholic Bishop after the entry of Catholicism to China, stated in his letters, “The Jingjiao followers believed in Jesus in appearance only.” He went further in his criticism that “the Jingjiao followers themselves or they paid others to persecute me...taking me to court and threatening me with death”.⁵⁴ In reality, in the Daxingguo Temple inscriptions in Zhengjiangfu of the Yuan Dynasty, the explanation of Xuemisixian was “Samarqand”.⁵⁵ This is the area active with the Nestorians, not Western Europe where Catholicism played a dominant role. We have not found the Yuan Dynasty Chinese documents that specifically used “Yelikewen” to refer to Catholicism, and the documents in Western languages and Mongolian were only in translations that indirectly recorded the existence and development of Catholicism in the Yuan Dynasty. Moreover, the Chinese term “Catholicism” originated in the Ming Dynasty, and later translations and indirect narrations were not sufficient to reveal the true circumstances at the time. Therefore, an in-depth research on the development and evolution of Jingjiao along the Silk Road could at least further explore its specific routes to China and the similarities and differences between Jingjiao and Catholicism in the Yuan Dynasty.

There are various arguments about the fate of Jingjiao after the Tang Emperor Wuzong’s “destruction of religions”. It is an undeniable fact that Jingjiao continued to circulate in China’s northwest frontier regions between the Song and Yuan Dynasties, with its influence among the tribes of Kereyid, Onggud, Naiman, Merkit, Uihur, Qirgisud, etc. The emissaries at the beginning of the Song Dynasty frequently saw Jingjiao followers and monks, and in the Western academia there is even the argument that Jingjiao entered Tibet during the Yuan Dynasty. At the beginning of the 11th century, the around 200,000 people of the Cey Tribe in along the Tuul River and Orkhon River were collectively converted to Jingjiao under the leadership of the Cey King; later, the Cey Tribe had inter-marriages with the Gengis Khan tribes, and Jingjiao gradually spread to the Mongolian tribes. Thus, the inter-marriages led to the Jingjiao faith among the Mongolian concubines, generals and court officials. For instance, Sorghaghtani, the wife Gengis Khan’s son Tului, was a Jingjiao follower from the Cey tribe, historically known as the Zongruizhuang Sage Queen, who was also the mother of Mongke and Kubla Khan. Töregene, wife of Ögedei and mother of Ögedei, and the granddaughter of the Cey Chief Wang Khan, also facilitated the circulation of Jingjiao among the Mongols. In his Travelogue, Marco Polo called Wang Khan the Elder King John in the European legends. Besides, Zhen Hai, a minister of Gengis Khan, was a Jingjiao follower from the Cey Tribe. Because Wanggu Tribe Chief Alawusiand and Gengis Khan kept generational inter-marriage promises so as to jointly resist the Naiman tribes, Jingjiao had a wider influence among the Mongols. Such connections through inter-marriages also included the marriage between Alawusi’s son

⁵⁴Moule (1984).

⁵⁵Ibid., pp. 168–169.

Boyaohe and Gengis Khan's daughter Princess Alaya Beqi, between Boyaohe's second son Aibuqa and Kubla Khan's daughter Princess Yuelie, between Aibuqa's first son Kuoliji and the daughter of Emperor Chengzong, between Giwargis (Kuolijisi)'s son Shu'an and the sister of Emperor Taiding (Yesün Temür), etc. A particular case was the Jingjiao follower Giwargis (Kuolijisi), who, as the son-in-law of Emperor Chengzong, was appointed the Ruler of Gaotang, stationed in the Northwest frontiers, and known in Europe as King George.

The founding of the Yuan Dynasty led to the restoration of Jingjiao in the Central Plains, and in the 26th year of the Yuan Dynasty, Kubla Khan the Shizu Emperor of the Yuan Dynasty set up the Chongfusi (Department of Revering Blessing) to manage the Yelikewen-related affairs. "Yelikewen in the Yuan Dynasty was such a powerful religion that the Chongfusi (Department of Revering Blessing) was set up with an official ranking of Erpin,"⁵⁶ whose function was to "manage sacrificial activities of the Messiah, Lieban Yelikewen Shizi Temples, etc." ("Records of Hundred Officials", *History of the Yuan Dynasty*). At this time, Jingjiao parishes were set up in Gansu, Ningxia, Tiande, Xi'an, Dadu, etc., becoming the extension of Central Asian Jingjiao in the Far-East. With the development and evolution of Jingjiao, the levels of the Yuan Dynasty's Jingjiao management departments also changed accordingly. In the second year (1315) of the Yanyou Era in the reign of Renzong Emperor of the Yuan Dynasty, the rank or level of Chongfusi was elevated to Yuan, as in "one Lingyuanshi was appointed, who managed all the affairs of the 72 Yelikewen si within the province and all the other places", but in the 7th year (1320) of the Yanyou Era, "it resumed the rank of si again, with the above officials relocated" ("Records of Hundred Officials", *History of the Yuan Dynasty*). In the Yuan Dynasty, Jingjiao had spread to areas such as Hanbali, Changluzhen of Zhili, Mongolia, Hejian of Hebei, Datong of Shanxi, the Waitao area of the yellow River, Shazhou, Suzhou, Ganzhou, Liangzhou, Shanzhou, and Eliheya of Gansu, Changshu, Yangzhou and Zhenjiang of Jiangsu, Hangzhou and Wenzhou of Zhejiang, Fuzhou and Quanzhou of Fujian, Yunan, as well as Kashgar, Yarkand, Chigin Talas and Ili of Xinjiang.

Quite a few celebrities in the Yuan Dynasty were Jingjiao followers. The famous Yuan writers Zhao Shiting and Ma Zuchang were both believers in Jingjiao, the former's ancestors belonging to the tribe of Onggud, and the latter's family clan being originally the Jingjiao nobles in the Western Regions. The Yuan Dynasty Jingjiao celebrity Mar Sargis's Grandfather Sarbi became Gengis Khan's imperial doctor, and Mar Sargis himself was summoned to be the imperial doctor in 1268 by Kublai Khan, for his skill in formulating the medical treatment technique of Xiangguomiwansheliba, which had been passed down from his ancestors. In the 14th year (1277) of the Zhiyuan Era, Mar Sargis was granted the imperial title of General of Hufuhuaiyuan and Deputy Daruyaçi of the Zhenjiang fulu zongguanfu. (Zhi Shun (Yuan). *Records of Zhenjiang*, Volume 9)" The next year, having arrived in Zhenjiang, he was reappointed as the General of Mingwei, and was said to "hold

⁵⁶Chen (1980a, b).

the religious precepts conscientiously and devote himself to the propagation of the religion, although he had already been in such a noble position. One night, he dreamed of the opening of the seven heavenly gates and two heavenly immortals telling him that he should build seven temples, who then gave him something white as a memorial. Inspired by this holy experience, he then quitted his official duty altogether and concentrated solely on constructing temples.” (Zhi Shun (Yuan). *Records of Zhenjiang*, Volume 9) From 1279 to 1282, he built six Jingjiao temples both in and outside of the city of Zhenjiang, including Zhenjiang Daxingguo Temple, Ganquan Temple, Yunshan Temple, Jumingshan Temple, Dantu County Kaisha sidu Temple, and Huangshan Gao'an Temple; in addition, he built a Jingjiao temple in Hangzhou City, that is, the Dapuxing Temple in Jianqiaomen. The construction of these seven temples marked the circulation and development of Jingjiao in the Jiangnan region during the Yuan Dynasty. Aixue, Kublai Khan's attendant, was too born into a family that for generations had cherished the Jingjiao faith. From his “appointment to be in charge of the astrology and medicine of the Western Regions”, through his secretarial position as Jianqing in charge of books of the past dynasties and forbidden books of superstition, his roles as Chongfusishi and as Hanlin scholar with imperial decree to specialize in national history, till his dukedom as Qingguo gong, he had always been granted tasks of ultimate importance; after his death, he was granted the titles of Tai kaifuyi, Sansishangzhuguo fulinwang, with the honorary title of loyal devotion. What's more, the Uyгур Jingjiao followers Rabban Sauma and Yahbh-Allaha travelled to Bagdad and Jerusalem in the Yuan Dynasty; the former went to Eastern and Western Roman Empires as the emissary, travelling Constantinople, Naples, Rome, Paris, etc., and assumed important Jingjiao positions in Baghdad; all these had become popular anecdotes in the history of East-West exchanges. In the latter half of the 13th century, Jingjiao reached its climax in development in the Yuan Dynasty, and its residence for the Archbishop was set up in Hanbali in 1275. According to records, at that time the Jingjiao followers “who resided in the Khitay State totaled over thirty thousand,” and “their churches were all magnificent and in good order...all abundant in possessions and treasures.”⁵⁷

However, because the Yuan rulers eventually chose Buddhism as their main religion, the development of Jingjiao was second to Buddhism, coming second too in its competition with Buddhism. During his years in Zhenjiang as a local official, Mar Sargis used his authority to force the changing of two Buddhist temples into the Jingjiao Yunshan Temple and Jumingshan Temple, resulting in the law suits between the two religions. People thought that Jingjiao was “using their authority to construct the Cross Temples,” and were disgusted by their “over-weaning and over bearing power and influence”. In 1311, with support from the Yuan authorities, these two Jingjiao temples were confiscated by Buddhism and changed to be the Jinshan Xiayuan, for which Emperor Yuanzong even issued an imperial decree to dismantle the Jingjiao statues and destroy their crosses, enabling Buddhists to

⁵⁷Refer to Wenhan (1982a, b).

“remold the Buddha statues and paint on the temple walls so that it could forever be the Jinshan Buddhist Temple”; the Emperor also asked the famous calligrapher Zhao Mengfu to set up a stele with inscriptions to declare that “all future descendants of Jingjiao must not compete with Buddhists; otherwise, they would be punished severely.” Jingjiao’s circulation was limited to the Mongols and the nationalities of the Western Regions as well as their descendants, having little influence over the Han nationality. With the replacement of the Yuan Dynasty by the Ming and the withdrawal of Mongols outside of the frontiers, Jingjiao died its natural death, with no more appearance in China.

4.5 Chinese Catholicism

Catholicism, as the largest branch of Christianity, was introduced into China in the Yuan Dynasty. The footprints of its missionaries covered the land and maritime Silk Roads, and initiated the in-depth exchanges between Chinese and Western cultures and their religious conceptions. Unlike Jingjiao that came to China via Persia, the Catholic entry to China began in the 13th century with the collision and exchange of Eastern and Western cultures, which essentially centered around the Silk Road and vividly unfolded its magnificent historical scrolls. Since 1221, the westward expeditions of the Mongols had changed the world order of the time. The quick pace and the vast scope of the Mongols’ expansion had shocked the European world. The Western Europeans regarded the Eastern “Tatars” as the “devils” that suddenly came out of the hell of “Tartarus”, claiming that they had brought “yellow disasters” to the West. The two great civilizations, which had not been in direct contact or in-depth exchanges in the past, now started to have substantial encounters and dialogues. In this regard, Zhang Xinglang had described that “during the Yuan Dynasty, Asia and Europe were totally connected, from the Pacific in the east to the Danube River, Baltic Sea, and the Mediterranean Sea in the west, to the Indian Ocean in the south and the Arctic Ocean in the north; all within the Mongols’ domain, with the unprecedented vast range of territories... A mastery of the Mongolian language would enable anyone to travel from Europe to China with no impediments at all. The courier stations dotted all across the country, so it was very convenient for communications....Travelers, merchants, missionaries, engineers, etc., all came from the east, did business in the inland, carried out missionary work freely, and their names were kept in the record books for officials. The two great civilizations of the east and the west... which had formerly been developing independent of each other, without any messages or information conveyed, or any correlations whatsoever, were now entering into substantial contacts.”⁵⁸ This westward momentum came to an abrupt stop in 1242, when General Batu’ army, having received the news of Ögedei qayan’s death, withdrew and

⁵⁸Zhang (1930).

returned. Having got a breathing space, the European nobles and the upper religious circles held the Bishops' Conference in Lyon, France presided by Pope Innocent IV in 1245. The conference decided to send missionaries eastward to convert the Mongolian Khans. Hence started the exchange of ambassadors between Europe and Mongolia, and the curtain on the extensive exchange between Medieval Europe and China was lifted.

4.5.1 The Coming of Catholic Missionaries to China in the Yuan Dynasty

In 1245, the Franciscan friar Giovanni de Piano Carpini made the first step for Western Catholicism to go to the East. He came to the Yuan China after a long and arduous journey full of hardships and dangers, presented to Güyük the Dingzong Emperor of the Yuan Dynasty the Pope's letter to the Mongolian Khan in the Yuan Capital Qorum, and returned to Europe with Güyük's letter in reply. In 1247, the Dominican friar Anselme de Lombardie was also sent to China. Later on, the French King Louis IX sent the Dominican friar Andre de Longjumeau in 1249 and Franciscan friar Guillaume de Rubrouck in 1253 to China. Although they did not fulfill their communication and missionary purposes, yet the wonderful descriptions of local customs and practices along the Silk Road unfolded to the western people a wonderful and charming oriental country. In 1255, the Venice merchants Polo brothers arrived in China to do business, in 1266 presented themselves before the Mongolian Kublai Khan in Xanadu, Mongolia, and was entrusted by the latter to go back to Europe to ask the Pope to send back scholars; in 1271, to report on completion of the task, they returned with the young Marco Polo to China. The Polos resided in China for a long time until their return to Europe in 1291. Marco Polo later narrated orally *The Travels of Marco Polo*, which became a tale on everybody's lips of the ancient Silk Road.

In 1289, the Franciscan friar Giovanni de Montecorvino traveled eastward via Armenia, Persia, and India, reached China via the maritime Silk Road from India in 1294, and set up a Catholic Church in Xanadu in 1299; he thus became the first Catholic to preach Catholicism in China. The Catholic entry to China enriched the religious life of the Chinese, providing more opportunities for Chinese to know more about the West. Montecorvino initially preached in the Onggud tribe, had successfully converted the Jingjiao follower King Giwargis to Catholicism, and had for one time converted his tribe to the Catholic faith. Regarding this, Montecorvino recorded in his letter dated 1305 that "during this time there was a certain King George, a descendant of King Prester John. He was from a noble family and used to believe in Nestorianism. In the first year after I came here, he accepted and befriended me, and was converted to Catholicism under my persuasion. His name was listed in the ranks of the ordained monks, and whenever it was time for sacrificial ceremonies, the king would come to my place in splendid attire for

participation; thus, the Nestorians criticized him for betraying and abandoning his religion. The king led most of his subjects to be converted to Catholicism, donated money to build a church, so splendid that it did not differ from a duke's residence. In the church was enshrined our sovereign God, that is, the Holy Trinity (see *The Nestorian Stele* for the translated term) and our Pope. The King granted his imperial handwriting of "Roman Church" on the plaque."⁵⁹ Yet after the death of Giwargis, the Onggud tribe resumed their Nestorian faith. The Nestorians had so many clashes with the Catholics at the time that sometimes the emperor had to intervene personally to solve the conflicts. Montecorvino described his early experience in the Yuan of being slandered and mistreated, of how he was called a "spy gangster, or how he was charged of assassinating the emissary of the Pope in India, and acting as a fraudulent substitute for another whose belongings he had stolen, and of how he "was brought to court and almost sentenced to death"; fortunately, thanks to the fair perception and investigation of the Khan, his wrongs were removed and he eventually regained his freedom.

Under the tolerance of the Yuan rulers, Catholicism developed smoothly in China. Montecorvino built the first Roman-Catholic church in Xanadu in 1299, and he also became the first Catholic Bishop in China. The German missionary Arnold Cologne, who was in China from 1303–1305, built another church in front of the Yuan Emperor's Palace, with the help of the Catholic merchant Peter who accompanied him in coming to China. Montecorvino, with his sense of achievement, wrote in a letter dated 1306 that "in 1305 I built another church in front of the Place gate of the Great Khan, with only a street in between in only a distance of a shooting arrow. Peter, a man from Lucalongo, was a devout believer in the holy Catholicism. A successful businessman, he was glad to go to China with me when I discussed with him the plan to go eastward. The land for the new church was bought by him and donated it to me so as to revere God." "The residents in the city as well as from other places had never heard of churches or had seen a brand new church building with a red cross high on its roof. Hearing me singing inside, they were much surprised, not knowing what I was doing. Meanwhile, my singing could also be heard by the Khan in his palace."⁶⁰ Emperor Chengzong of the Yuan treated him as the special envoy from the Pope, and Montecorvino, taking advantage of his opportunities to be by the Emperor's side, time and again had tried to persuade the emperor to be converted to Catholicism, but of no avail, so Montecorvino rather regretted about it. At that time, the Catholic believers totaled five or six thousand, and those coming for baptism came one after another. According to the estimate of Montecorvino, without the disturbance of the Jingjiao, the converted could have totaled over 30 thousand, which would roughly equal the number of Jingjiao followers. For the convenience of the missionary work, he also adopted 150 orphans, and organized them into a choir after they were baptized; they participated in singing the hymns and other rituals in the two churches respectively. For this

⁵⁹Refer to Wenhan (1982a, b).

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 135.

reason, he translated into the local dialect (the Mongolian language) 30 hymns, two daily prayers, 150 chapters of Catholic prayers, and other Catholic texts, particularly the translation of the Psalms.

In 1307, Roman Catholic Pope Clement V sent another 7 Franciscan friars to come to China, and elevated the Hanbli Parish in Xanadu to the Headquarters for Bishop's Parishes. Before they came, they were ordained as bishops, and represented the Pope to ordain Montecorvino as the Archbishop for the Hanbali headquarters to be in charge of the religious affairs of Khitan (North China) and the Barbarians (South China). Of the seven missionaries, only Gerardus Albuini, Peregrinano Castello and Andreas de Perusia arrived in China. They assisted the Archbishop in managing the religious affairs of the headquarters, preparing for the Catholic development in other areas of China. The Yuan Emperor granted financial subsidies to them for their being far away from their native churches; they were not only exempt from military service and taxation, but also were granted imperially given salaries or "Alafa".

When Montecorvino was traveling to China via India by the Maritime Silk Road, he arrived at Quanzhou, called Citonggang at the time, also the largest port in the east; the the prosperous scenes of "merchants from ten thousand countries amid the sound of the rising waves", "people from ten different continents swarming in one city", and the unique styled mosques built by the Muslims"⁶¹ stimulated and attracted him so much. So he sent people to set up the Quanzhou Parish Headquarters, and from 1313 onward started to dispatch consecutively Gerald, Peregrine and Andrew to be bishops in Quanzhou. During these years, Catholicism spread to Hangzhou of Zhejaing, Yangzhou of Jiangsu and other areas. In 1318, the Franciscan friar Odorico da Pordenone came to China from Italy, and arrived in Guangzhou in 1322; later he traveled past Quanzhou, Fuzhou, Hangzhou, Nanjing, Yangzhou, Tianjin, and Jining; traveling north along the Great Canal, he arrived in Xanadu in 1325. In 1328, he traveled westward past Tiande, Shangxi and Lhasa and returned to Europe via Central Asia and Persia, bequeathing to the world *The Travels of Friar Odoric* that recorded what he saw and heard during his travels.

Montecorvino died in 1328 and thereafter no post of archbishop was held in Xanadu. Although the Fransican friar Marignolli and his followers came to Xanadu in 1342 and presented a stallion to Emperor Shundi of the Yuan Dynasty, as in "Folang country presenting the heavenly horse", yet he still left in 1346 to return to Europe. With the inner splits of the Roman Catholic Church, which could spare no time on the Eastern religious affairs, Catholicism at the end of the Yuan Dynasty began to decline. The Archbishop headquarters in Xanadu ceased to exist except in name, and the Citong Parish, after the death of the fifth Bishop Jacobus in 1362, also ceased to exist. Though there were in the Yuan Dynasty around 30 thousand Catholic believers, they were mostly Mongolians and people from the Western Regions, with few converts from the Han Nationality, as in the case of Jingjiao. After the demise of the Yuan Dynasty, the Taizu Emperor Zhu Yuanzhang of the

⁶¹Hayes et al. (1975).

Ming Dynasty issued a ban on the Christian transmission in China; Catholicism, like Jingjiao, gradually disappeared.

4.5.2 *Catholicism in the Ming and Qing Dynasties*

The Catholic re-entry at the end of the Ming Dynasty was directly related to the Jesuit Society set up after the Reformation in Europe. One of its founders, Francis Xavier (1506–1552) first came to the East on his missionary trip to India, Southeastern countries and Japan; having heard the Japanese say that their religions and culture all came from China, he decided to go to China for his missionary work; however, he died on Shangchuan Island in Guangdong in 1552, and was thus unable to really enter China's inland. Since then, the Jesuits had set up churches and schools in Macao to make linguistic and cultural preparations for their Chinese missions. At the end of the year 1582, the Italian Jesuit Michael Ruggieri and his followers entered Zhaoqing of Guangdong, and resided in the Dongguan Tianning Temple for about 4 months before he was forced to return to Macao. In September of 1583, Ruggieri and another Italian Jesuit Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) made, in a true sense, the breakthrough; they came to Zhaoqing again and were permitted local permanent residence. In 1584, Matteo Ricci, suggested by Wang Pan, the magistrate of Zhaoqing, drew the first map of the world, named by Wang Pan as Daquantu (Map of the Most Complete List of Countries), that is, the later Map of the Mountains, Seas, and Lands, which contributed to widening the Chinese people's horizon of the world and the changing of the Chinese traditional concept of the "the round sky and the square earth". In 1588 Ruggieri returned to Europe, yet Matteo Ricci persisted in staying. Influenced by Matteo Ricci and other Jesuit missionaries, famous Chinese personages such as Xu Guangqi (1562–1633), Li Zhizao (1565–1630) and Yang Tingjun (1557–1627) were successively converted to Catholicism, constituting the earliest Han Chinese Catholics. In collaboration with Xu Guangqi and Li Zhizao, Matteo Ricci translated many western scientific, philosophical and theological masterpieces into Chinese, and translated and introduced Chinese classics to the West, thus deepening the understanding of Sino-Western cultures. Since Matteo Ricci, the Jesuits championed the 17th and 18th centuries' European Sinology; they discovered traces of Western religions in China and the propagation of their faith; they initiated "the scholarly missionary works" through wearing "Confucian attires" and becoming "Western Confucians"; they learned and adapted to Chinese culture, facilitating the influence of the Chinese religious tradition in the West; their research on the Nestorian Stele, their "discovery of the Jews in Kaifeng", their analysis of the *I Ching*, the formation of Figurist trend of thought, and their categorization of the ancient Chinese annals in comparison with the Biblical annals substantiated and visualized the significance of the Silk Road in bridging the East-West cultures, culminating in the heyday of cultural exchange through the "eastward spread of Western Culture" and the "the spread of Oriental literature to the West".

In 1597 the Catholic Church founded the Chinese Jesuit Society, headed by Matteo Ricci as its first Chairman. In addition, in 1632 the Spanish Dominican Society entered Fujian, China; in 1633 the Spanish Masonic Society was also introduced to Fujian, and soon Luo Wenzao (1617–1691) and other Chinese were baptized. In 1644, with the demise of the Ming and founding of the Qing Dynasty, some missionaries, with the remnants of the Ming court, migrated south, and some of the missionaries stayed and served the Qing court, such as the German Jesuit Tang Ruowang (Johann Adam Schallvon Bell, 1592–1666) in the post of the Head of the Astronomical Bureau in 1645, succeeded by the Belgian Jesuit Nan Huiren (Ferdinand Verbiest, 1623–1688), who came to China in 1659. In 1684, The Society of Foreign Missions of Paris entered Fujian, whose founder Lu Fangji (Francis Cus Pallu) was the first bishop that the Roman Holy See sent to China. In 1699, Congregation of Mission entered China and succeeded the dissolved Jesuit Society in taking over China's Catholic activities and affairs.

In the founding of the Chinese Catholic Church, Luo Wenzao became the first Chinese priest in 1654, was nominated by Pope Clement X as bishop in 1674, and was formally consecrated as the first Chinese Archbishop in 1685. In 1664, Zheng Weixin became the second priest of Chinese nationality. In 1688, Luo Wenzao consecrated the Chinese Jesuits Wu Yushan, Wan Qiyuan and Liu Yunde as priests, who became the earliest three Chinese priests promoted by a Chinese Archbishop.

Ever since Long Huamin (Nicolaus Longobardi) succeeded the president of the Chinese Jesuit Society, it had been divided in its attitude towards China, and Longobardi disagreed with Matteo Ricci's tolerance of Chinese rites, resolutely opposed to the Chinese veneration of Confucius and ancestral worship, and provoked the debates within the Society over the Chinese use of "Tianzhu (Lord of Heaven)", "Tian (Heaven)", "Shangdi (God)", or the transliteration of the "Tusi (Deus)" as the translated name of God, thus forming a precursor to the "Chinese Rites Controversy". Because of the differences between Chinese and western religious traditions and the conflicts upon their encounters, the Anti-missionary Case of Nanjing was incurred. Nanjing Ceremonial Master Shen Que and others submitted three times memorials to the emperor, convicting the missionaries and banning their religion. Xu Guangqi had written to the emperor to defend for the missionaries, and after several twists and turns, had eventually quelled it in 1623. During the Shunzhi Era of the Qing Dynasty, Yang Guangxian started the calendar controversy, causing the arrest and imprisonment of Tang Ruowang, Nan Huiren and other missionaries, and not until 1699 when Kangxi took over the reins of the court upon coming of age was the unjust case redressed. In 1671, Emperor Kangxi wrote "Jingtian (Revering Heaven)" on the plaque of the Roman Catholic church, and indicated that "the Jingtian that I wrote means the reverence for the Heavenly Lord (God)". But his favor for Catholicism was terminated by the rise of the "Chinese Rites Controversy"; instead, a strict ban on the religion was adopted. After 1635, the "Chinese Rites Controversy" escalated to disputes and competitions between the Jesuit Society and other Catholic sects that came to China, ending up troubling the Holy See. The Pope had intervened in the controversy since 1645, with attitudes repeatedly changing. In 1693, the Foreign missionary Yan Dang

(Charles Maigrot) issued 7 bans in his status as the Vicar of the Fujian parish, forbidding the Chinese Catholics to “worship Heaven” and sacrifice to Confucius and ancestors. Thereupon, the Jesuits in China sought the support of Emperor Kangxi, who expressed the opinion that “worshiping Heaven, serving the monarch and revering the teachers and elders is a value universally accepted”; hence the controversy escalated to one between the Chinese emperor’s decree and the authority of the Pope. In the winter of 1705, the Pope’s special envoy Carlo Tommaso Maillard de Tournon brought the Holy See’s ban to Beijing, and had it announced in early 1707 in Nanjing; Emperor Kangxi thus officially began to ban the religion. In March 1715, Pope Clement XI promulgated the encyclical “Since the Day of the Ascension to the Throne”, deemed by the Qing court as “the ban”, and Emperor Kangxi followed up by his decree to the Rites Department to ban Catholicism totally in April, 1717. In 1742, Pope Benedict XIV reinforced the ban. Not until December 1939 did Pope Pius XII order the Congregation of Faith Propagation to lift the ban on Chinese rites.

Before the “Opium War”, a few Catholic missionaries began to return to China for missionary purposes. For instance, the Lazarists came to China in 1835, the Paris Foreign Missions Society arrived in 1838, the Franciscans came in 1839, and the Jesuits that revived in 1814 got here before 1840. With the signing of various “unequal treaties” after the “Opium War” of 1840 came the re-influx of Roman Catholic missionaries to China; they built consecutively three Bishop’s parishes of Macao, Nanjing and Beijing. After 1846, Vicar’s parishes were set up in many places of China. By 1879, the Catholic Church had developed five missionary areas in China. Upwards to 1879, there had been five major Catholic mission districts in China. However, the missions supported by the imperialistic Powers also caused the Chinese People’s revolt; coupled with the misunderstanding between Chinese and Western cultures, many “anti-missionary cases” were incurred, especially the Boxer Rebellion of 1900, which dealt a heavy blow to the church. The rise of anti-imperialist and patriotic movements in all parts of China in the early 20th century had shaken the Catholic Church, meanwhile promoting the Chinese churches’ self-reliance and autonomy in their development.

4.5.3 Modern Catholicism

After the 1911 revolution, Catholicism began to develop toward sinicization. At that time in China, the Belgian Lazarist Lei Mingyuan (Vincent Lebbe, 1877–1940) advocated that “China belongs to the Chinese, and the Chinese to Christ”, hoping to “be blessed in person before the Chinese bishop.” He realized that the right of religious protection based on the unequal treaties had led the Chinese to equate the church with the Western imperialistic powers; thus he supported the sinicization of the Church in China, and established the Congregation of Faith Propagation to organize Chinese Christians themselves to do missionary work, which is the beginning of the “Catholic Action Association”. He strongly supported the “Ta

Kung Pao” founded by the Chinese Catholic Ying Lianzhi (1866–1926), and also supported “The Chinese Union of Church Friends” founded by the Chinese Catholic clergy Wang Jinren, Cheng Jiesan, Liu Junqing and others, and their efforts to rely on the Chinese priests themselves to manage the church affairs. Ying Lianzhi emphasized that Chinese Catholics must be patriotic, and he published the “Harsh Words about Urging Learning” in 1917, criticizing the Western missionaries’ reliance upon Western powers, for “the people were playing the jackals to the tiger, and their teaching was sinful”. He opposed the worshiping of the foreign, lamenting that “how could it be that the holy Catholic truth, on the part of the Chinese Christians only, make them love foreign countries, and those really want to seek the truth find it not.”⁶² Ying Lianzhi is committed to the Chinese-led education and philanthropy, successively setting up Jingyi Women’s Middle School, Fu Jen Association and Catholic University (that is, the later Fu Jen Catholic University), acting as its first President. Similarly, the Chinese Catholic Ma Xiangbo (1840–1939) also promoted the sinicization of Catholicism in the south, founded successively in Shanghai Zhendan College and Fudan University, acted as editor-in-chief for “Tian Min News”, and firmly advocated unifying the Chinese in Anti-Japanese activities. The awakened national consciousness of the Chinese Catholics prompted the Holy See’s sinicization initiatives, and Pope Benedict XV issued an encyclical as concrete impetuses for it after the May Fourth Movement in 1919, saying that “Catholicism is not foreign to any country, and therefore every country should cultivate its own clergy”.⁶³

During the missionary process, the Catholic Church paid attention to the establishment of education, with particular emphasis on primary and secondary education. Till 1914, the Catholic schools in China had totaled 8034, and students about 130,000, of which Shanghai’s Xuhui Public School, St. Francis Academy, Chong Tak School, Tianjin French-Chinese School, Chengzheng Elementary School, Shuzhen Female Primary School, Jiuzhen Middle School, etc. were well-known. In addition, the Catholic Church founded several universities, namely, Zhendan University founded in 1903 in Shanghai, originally with Ma Xiangbo in charge, who had named it Zhendan, to be controlled later by French Jesuits, with Ma Xiangbo leaving in 1905 to found the Fudan Public School; Tianjin Industrial and Commercial University founded in Tianjin in 1921 and renamed Tianjin Business School in 1933; Fu Jen University founded in 1925 in Peking, originally called Fu Jen Club, with the United States Order of Saint Benedict as the founder, and Ying Lianzhi involved in the planning preparations, to be later taken over by the Holy Words Association in 1933 and with Chen Yuan hired as principal; Women’s Liberal Arts College established in Shanghai in 1937 and founded by Sisters of the Sacred Heart.

In 1922, Pope Pius XI sent the Italian Bishop Gang Hengyi (Celso Costantini, 1876–1958) to China as the first representative of the Pope in Beijing.

⁶²Refer to Gu (1989).

⁶³Refer to Shanghai *Catholic Magazine*, April Issue, 1920.

Under the proposal of Gang Hengyi, the first supervised pastoral area administered by Chinese clergy was established in December 1923 in Puqi, Hubei, and the second one was established in Anguo, Hebei Province in April 1924. In October 1926, Pope Pius XI again consecrated in person 6 Chinese priests (Sun Dezhen, Zhao Huaiyi, Zhu Kaimin, Hu Ruoshan, Chen Guodi, Cheng Hede) as Bishops at Vatican's St. Peter's Cathedral. Chinese Catholics in this period had also set up the Shanghai Catholic Action Association, The Lord's Disciples, etc. In 1933, Yu Bin served as the General Director of the National Catholic Action Association in China. Pope Pius XII appointed the Bishop of Qingdao Tian Gengshen as the Cardinal and Archbishop of Peking in 1945, and in 1946 promulgated the establishment of the Chinese Catholic Church Holy System Imperial Edict. Later on, Chinese Catholicism was divided into 20 pastoral provinces, with 20 Arch-Bishops, including three Chinese Arch-Bishops, Tian Gengshen, Yu Bin (Nanjing) and Zhou Shichang (Nan Chang); it was further divided into 137 pastoral districts, and there were 29 Chinese bishops for the districts. In July 1949, Pi Sushu became the fourth Chinese Archbishop (Shenyang). In 1949, the Chinese Catholics had totaled 3 million.

After the founding of the People's Republic of China, Wang Liangzuo, the Sichuan Catholic priest and over 500 Catholics published the Declaration of Independence and Reform at the end of the year 1950, thus initiating the Chinese Catholic patriotic and independent movements. In January 1951, the Tianjin Catholic Wu Kezhai, Nie Guoping and others organized "Tianjin Municipal Catholic Reform Movement Facilitation Association Preparatory Committee, advocating "the Chinese Catholic Self-Management, Self-Support and Self-Propagation". In March of the same year, the Deputy Bishop of Nanjing Li Weiguang signed with 793 Roman Catholics to support the "Three principles of the Catholic Self-Management, Self-Support and Self-Propagation in China". From 1953 to early 1956, some 200 Catholic patriotic groups were established throughout the country. In 1956, Pi Shushi announced his support for the "Preparatory meeting of the Chinese Catholic Fraternity Association Preparatory Committee". From June to August 1957, "The First Representative Assembly of Chinese Catholic Friends" was held in Beijing, which passed the Statutes of the Chinese Catholic Fraternity Patriotic Association, and elected Pi Shushi as the Chairman for the newly established Chinese Catholic Fraternity Association. The Meeting also adopted the Resolution of the Conference of the Representatives of the Chinese Catholic Fraternity, indicating that "for the sake of the motherland, the Chinese Catholic Church must radically change the colonial and semi-colonial state that China's old era imperialism had brought to our church; independent running of the church must be implemented by the Chinese bishops and Christian brothers themselves, on the condition of not violating the interests of the motherland and the premise of independent dignity, a pure religious relationship with the Vatican must be maintained, and obedience to the Pope should be executed in terms of faith and practice. But the Vatican must be totally severed from its political and economic relations with the Chinese churches, and the Chinese resolutely opposed to any conspiracy of the Vatican to use religion in interfering in our internal affairs, violating our sovereignty and undermining our righteous anti-imperialist and patriotic

movements. This expression thus became the basic principle to crystallize Church-State Relations between the contemporary Chinese Catholic Church and the Vatican. In December 1957, Li Xi, a parish priest of Chengdu, was chosen Bishop, beginning the phase of Chinese themselves selecting bishops. In March 1958, Hankou and Wuchang respectively elected Dong Guangqing and Yuan Wenhua as bishop candidates, and telegraphed the Holy See for its approval. But the Holy See did not approve of it; instead, it threatened the act by “punishment of expulsion”. In April 1958, Dong Guangqing and Yuan Wenhua were consecrated as bishops, thus beginning the development of the Chinese Catholic Church’s self-selection and self-consecration. In 1962, the Chinese Catholic Fraternity Patriotic Association was renamed the Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association. After the “Cultural Revolution”, Fu Tieshan was consecrated as Bishop in Beijing at the end of 1979, thus restoring Chinese Catholic Church’s measures of self-selection and self-consecration. In 1980, the Bishops’ Conference of Catholic Church in China was founded, Zhang Jiashu, Zong Huaide, Liu Yuanren, Fu Tieshan, Ma Yinglin, and so on had chaired the Association, and Jin Luxian used to be the honorary chairman. The same year also witnessed the establishment of The Chinese Catholic Educational Administration Committee, with Zhang Jiashu as the director, but this national Educational Administration Committee was revoked in 1992. In 1982, the Shanghai Sheshan Catholic Seminary was founded; in 1983, the National Seminary of Catholic Church in China was founded. Currently, Catholics in mainland China have exceeded 5 million. Since 1949, Yu Bin and Dan Guoxi in Taiwan have been promoted by the Holy See to be Cardinals, and in Hong Kong, Hu Zhenzhong, Chen Rijun, Tang Han and others have been promoted to be cardinals.

4.6 Chinese Orthodox Church

The Chinese Orthodox Church originated from the Russian Orthodox Church that entered China, having undergone sinicization to eventually become the Chinese Orthodox in 1950. Since 1643, Czarist Russian Empire’s troops had invaded China’s Heilongjiang Valley, occupying Albazin in 1650; in 1654 they invaded the Songhua River valley, and in 1665 they again occupied Albazin. The Orthodox Church friars, who accompanied the Russian army, established the first Christ’s Resurrection Church in Albazin, which was the beginning of the Eastern Orthodox in China.

In 1685 and 1686, the Qing Army twice defeated the Russian army that occupied Albazin, and the captured 45 Russians were sent to Beijing, of whom the Orthodox priest Maxim Leontief became the first Orthodox missionary to Beijing. The Qing court arranged for these Russians to settle in Hujiaquan Alley in Beijing Dongzhimen, and granted them a Lord Guan Temple there to be converted into an Orthodox Church, called St. Nicholas Church, and popularly known in Beijing as the Rakshasa Temple or Beiguan. These Russian captives were still reluctant to return to their own country after the signing of the Sino-Russian Treaty of

Nerchinsk; rather, they “stayed long in Beijing, were naturalized as Qing Dynasty residents, and were regarded as Banner-men”, with their descendants called “Albazinians”. In 1695, Russian Tobolsk Bishop Ignati sent here church certificates and religious supplies, and asked Leontief to convert the church to Hagia Sophia Church. In 1715, Hilarion Lezhaysky led Russian Orthodox Church Beijing Missionaries to Beijing, that is, Russia’s first mission in Beijing. From then on, the Russian Orthodox Mission in Beijing had their members changed about every ten years. In 1732, in the Russian Embassy of Beijing Dongjiangmi Lane was built another Fengxianjie Church, traditionally called Nanguan. Since 1807, the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs officially appointed a guardian officer to accompany the missionaries to China, so that the Missionary group also “served the role of the official representatives of the Russian government”, with the nature of a unified political and religious diplomatic corps. From 1715 to 1860, Russian Orthodoxy had a total of 13 rounds of missionary groups to China. After the signing of the Beijing Treaty between China and Russia in 1860, the Russian Missionaries in Beijing specialized in missionary works, and its diplomatic function was transferred to the Russian Embassy in China. From 1715 to 1956, there had been successively 20 rounds of Russian Orthodox Church Beijing Missionaries that came to China. In 1924, it was renamed the Chinese Orthodox Church Beijing Headquarters, which broke off relations with the Orthodox Church in Moscow. After 1945, the Beijing Missionary Group and the dioceses of Harbin came under the jurisdiction of the Orthodox Church in the Soviet Union, whereas Shanghai and Tianjin Orthodox dioceses came under the jurisdiction of the Provisional Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church in Serbia. By 1949, there were more than 300,000 Orthodox Christians in China.

After 1949, a large number of Russian aliens left China, and the number of Chinese Orthodox Christians declined markedly. In 1955, the Orthodox Churches of China and the Soviet Union reached an agreement through the Shanghai Conference, and the Chinese Orthodox Church would hence be totally independent, no longer under the control of Moscow and the Russian national Orthodox Churches; it walked on the path of autonomy and self-management. In 1956, the Beijing Orthodox Church was renamed the Chinese Orthodox Church, with the Archbishop Yao Fuan in charge. At present, the Chinese Orthodox Churches are mainly distributed in the northeast, Inner Mongolia and Xinjiang, and its believers total less than ten thousand, consisting mainly of Russian-Chinese hybrids of Heilongjiang and other areas, their descendants, or the “Albazinians”, as well as the Russian nationality in Xinjiang, etc.

4.7 Chinese Christianity

In China, Christianity refers to Protestantism that resulted after the reformation in Europe, and after its entry to China, it has been called Jidujiao or Christianity, Yesujiao or the Teaching of Jesus, etc. Since 1949, Christianity has been its generic

term. In general, 1807 is regarded as the year in which Christianity was introduced to China, but before that there already had been Protestant missionaries who went into Taiwan on missionary purposes.

4.7.1 The Dissemination of Christianity in Taiwan in the 17th Century

As early as 1580, the Spanish Jesuits went to Taiwan on missions, but because of the unsatisfying results, they soon withdrew from Taiwan. In 1624, Dutch businessmen went into Taiwan to do business, and hence the Dutch Christian missionaries also came to Taiwan to preach their religion, which was regarded as the earliest evidence of the Protestant presence in China. Since then, the Spanish army came from the Philippines into Taiwan in 1626, accompanied by the Spanish Dominican missionaries, for one time in harsh conflicts with the Dutch Protestants. In 1634, the Dutch set up business centers and military bases in southwestern Taiwan, driving the Spanish in the north back to the Philippines. The earliest Dutch Protestant missionary Gandeus (George Candiduis) was dispatched by the Dutch East India Company in 1627, and the Protestant priest Jonius (Robert Junius) arrived in Taiwan in the same year. From 1627 to 1664, a total of about 37 Protestant missionaries came to Taiwan. Prior to 1660, 60% of Gaoshan nationality in southern and central Taiwan had been baptized to be Christians. In 1662, Zheng Chenggong⁶⁴ retreated to garrison Taiwan, aiming at resisting the Qing and restoring the Ming, so the Dutch were expelled from Taiwan, and the Christian missionary activities were terminated in 1664. After the Qing Dynasty regained the lost Taiwan in 1683, the Christian missionaries who had stayed were expelled too. After the signing of the Treaty of Tianjin in 1859, Western Christianity was re-introduced into Taiwan.

4.7.2 The Dissemination of Christianity in China Prior to the Opium War

In September 1807, the British Ma Lixun (Robert Morrison, 1782–1834) was dispatched to Macao and Guangzhou by the London Missionary Society, and became the first priest to preach to the Chinese mainlanders. He translated the Bible into Chinese in the protective disguise as an employee from the East India Company, and was involved secretly in missionary work. In September 1814, Cai Gao, a

⁶⁴Translator Note: Better known in the West as Koxinga or Coxinga, Zheng Chenggong was a leader of Ming forces against the Manchu conquerors of China, best known for establishing Chinese control over Taiwan.

native of Guangdong, was baptized by Ma Lixun in Macao, and became the first Protestant Christian in mainland China. In 1813, the British Protestant missionary Mi Lian (William Milne) arrived in Malacca, Nanyang, established there a missionary base, and prepared to found the Yinghua Academy to attract Chinese students. In November 1816, Liang Fa (1789–1855) was baptized by Mi Lian in Malacca to become the second Chinese Protestant Christian. Liang Fa returned to Guangdong in 1819 and worked under Ma Lixun, was commissioned by Ma Lixun as a missionary for the London Missionary Society in 1823 in Macau, and was specially commissioned a preaching position by Ma Lixun in 1827; Liang Fa was thus called the first Chinese Protestant priest. In 1813, with the help of some Chinese, Ma Lixun completed his Chinese translation of the “New Testament”, turning out 2000 volumes in its first print in Guangzhou. In 1819, Ma Lixun and Mi Lian collaborated in completing the Chinese translation of the “Old Testament”, with the translated version of the full Bible titled *Shentian shengshu* (The Holy Bible), which was published in 1823 in Malacca. In addition, Ma Lixun compiled and translated the “Yinghua (English-Chinese) Dictionary”, and published a number of works that introduced Christianity to the Chinese and introduced Chinese culture to the west.

Liang Fa began his missionary work in 1823. He first organized the earliest Chinese Protestant family church, carried out missions, and in 1828 founded mainland China’s first Protestant school in his hometown with Gu Tianqing, a Protestant believer that he developed. The Chinese churches in Guangdong employed for missionary purposes the opportunities of the prefecture and county Xiucai or scholars participating in provincial examinations. Liang Fa wrote the preaching brochure “Benevolent Words to the World” in 1836, which had a tremendous impact on Hong Xiuquan, a Huaxian County scholar who went to Guangzhou Examination Hall. Based on it, Hong Xiuquan later on founded The Society of God-worshippers that eventually developed into the Taiping Rebellion. But Liang Fa’s missions had not a popular reception at that time, and its Guangzhou church had only 14 members.

The Protestant missionaries who came to China before the “Opium War” also included such ABCFM (American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions) members as Elijah C. Bridgeman and David Abeel, who arrived in Guangzhou in 1830, Samuel Wells Williams, who came to China in 1833, and Peter Parker in 1834, etc. In 1855, Parker served as the United States Minister Counselor in Beijing, setting the precedent for the American missionaries acting as senior diplomats in China, and this tradition was continued. The German Missionary Guo Shili, also translated as Guo Shila, was dispatched by the Dutch Missionary Board, who collected information along the coastal areas of China in 1831 and 1832 and tried doing missionary work, went to Macau in 1833, and reached Guangzhou in 1834. The American Baptist Priest John Lewis Shuck went on his missions to Macao and Guangzhou in 1836; Luo Xiaoquan (Issachar Jacob Roberts) established in 1835 the “Luo Xiaoquan Fund and Chinese Missionary Society”, and under this name he went on his missions to China in 1837. Mai Dusi (Walter Henry Medhurst), a missionary from the London Missionary Association, arrived in

Shanghai in 1835, baptized Zhu Delang of Guangdong in 1837, and subsequently founded early modern China's first printing house Mohai Shuguan in 1843 in Shanghai. In addition, the Anglican Missionary Tradescant Lay was sent to Macau in 1836 by the British and Foreign Bible Society; British missionary Shi Aihua (Edward B Squire) and his wife came to Macau in 1838 on missionary purposes; the United States Presbyterian Priest Samuel Robbins Brown arrived into Macao in 1839 to found the Morrison School, and he brought with him upon his return the students Yung Wing, Huang Kuan, Huang Sheng to study in the United States, making them the first overseas Chinese students in modern times; in addition, the Anglican missionary Wen Huilian (William Jones Boone) entered Macau in 1840. But these missionaries did not achieve much, for the western Protestant missionaries in China totaled about 50 people, of whom only over 20 could preach to the mainland Chinese, and only 150 or so Chinese were baptized as Christians before the Opium War.

4.7.3 *The Dissemination of Christianity in China After the "Opium War"*

In 1840, the Opium War broke out, and in 1842, the Sino-British Treaty of Nanjing was signed. Since then, the closed China had been forcibly torn open, and accompanying the Western powers, the missionaries also flocked into China. Churches of Catholicism, Orthodox and Christianity (Protestantism) all began to be built in all parts of China, with a drastically increasing number of believers in China. In November 1843, the Anglo-China Academy in Malacca moved to Hong Kong, renamed the Anglo-China Theological Seminary, and headed by Liyage (James Legge) sent by London Missionary Association to be the President of the Anglo-China Academy in 1839. He also came to Hong Kong to continue to serve as the President of the Anglo-China Theological Seminary, bringing Liang Fa, Qu Ang, He Yaxin and his sons He Jinshan, Wu Wenxiu, Song Fojian, Li Jinlin and others. Legge later became a famous sinologist in the West because he systematically translated the "Four Books", "Five Classics" and other Chinese classics.

In this period, many missionaries came to China, giving rise to different geographical and cultural characteristics, the most typical being the British Baptist Church Priest Timothy Richard and Dai Desheng (James Hudson Taylor) from the British Protestant Chinese Missionaries Association. After arriving in China in 1870, Timothy Richard advocated taking the upper route, being good at befriending high-class society dignitaries and intellectual elite, concerning current affairs, and focusing on the politics and academic-cultural exchanges. He used to be the Editor-in Chief of the *Tianjin Times*, founded the Guangwen Academy, acted as the Director of Tongwen shuhui, which he renamed Wide Learning Association. He had influenced, to some extent, the Chinese Modern Reform Movement, and was acquainted with social dignitaries such as Li Hongzhang, Zuo Zongtang, Zhang

Zhidong, Gong Qinwang, Weng Tonglu, Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao, Sun Yat-sen and others. Dai Desheng, since his arrival in China in 1854, had advocated the lower route, and emphasized going deeper into the mainland and the grassroots for missions; for this reason he left the Chinese Missioanry Association and founded the Mainland Missioanry Association in 1865. He also paid special attention to carrying out missions in minority areas, which had influenced the development of the cultural life of ethnic minorities such as the Miao Nationality.

The Christian introduction also inspired the Chinese who were not satisfied with the status-quo. Hong Xiuquan and others absorbed the Christian doctrines, combined them with their own social and political ideas, and shortly after the end of the Opium War, founded their religious and political organization Association for God-Worshippers, and in 1851 launched the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Movement. Hong Xiuquan had time and again studied Liang Fa's "Good Words for the World", and in the spring of 1847 he went to Guangzhou to "study the Bible and listen to the lessons" from Luo Xiaoquan, for two months experienceing the "learning of Tao". But Luo Xiaoquan refused Hong Xiuquan's offer to have him baptized, which also prompted Hong Xiuquan's self-created system, in which the Christian ideology was integrated into his own social and political views and Chinese traditional beliefs, resulting in the formation of the "Association for God Worshippers", a new religious model. However, Feng Yunshan, another founder of the Association, also visited Guo Shili in Guangzhou in 1848, and was baptized by Guo. Hong Renhan, another founder of the Association, fled to Hong Kong in 1852 because he missed the Jintian Uprising, was baptized at the end of 1853 in Hong Kong by Han Shanwen (Theodore Hamberg), the HK Protestant Pakse priest, and in 1860 became the Chief Adviser to Hong Xiuquan, with the title Ganwang granted to him. Even Luo Xiaoquan was invited by Hong Xiuquan in 1860 to Tianjing of the Heavenly Kingdom, as the foreign minister and the Master of Religion for the King. The missionaries associated with the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, after having persuading Hong Xiuquan in vain, denounced the Association for God-Worshippers as a deviant heretical cult, and detached themselves from the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. Hong Xiuquan "resolutely objected" to the missionaries' doctrinal revisions, and the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom also attributed its failure to the "foreigners helping Demons", which was the "source of evil" for the Kingdom.

Forced missions supported by unequal treaties often caused the Chinese resentment and anger, leading to a variety of "religion cases" characterized by beatings of the missionaries who aroused the anger of the people or who had bad deeds, and by the destruction of the churches, such as the religion cases of Qingpu (in 1848, caused by Madusi's forced entry into Qingpu on his missions), Yangzhou (in 1868 caused by Dai Desheng who forcibly rented a house as a church in Yangzhou), Jinan (in 1881, caused by the United States Presbyterians in Jinan who forcibly bought houses to rebuild them as churches), etc. Whereas, the Western powers made use of the religion cases to impose pressure on the Qing government, which compromised and retreated, resulting in more intensified contradictions and the escalation of the religion cases, until 1900 that witnessed the outbreak of the nation-wide Boxer Uprising, whose fierce resistance marked by "helping the Qing

and wiping out the Foreign” was cracked down by the Allied Forces of the Eight Powers. China was thus in a state of more suffering.

After the Boxer Rebellion, Christian sects in China began to unite in forming a nation-wide cooperative organization. In 1907, the Evangelical Council was established at the Centennial Memorial Conference of Christianity in China in Shanghai. In 1913, the China Continuation Committee convened the first National Congress in Shanghai, historically called the first Christian National Congress, headed by John R. Mott, the United States Protestant missionary, and leader of the World’s Christian Youth Association, and with Cheng Jing Yi as Director General, forming China’s core Christian institutions. Under the influence of Mott’s many-time China missions, these joint efforts reached their climax, as in the founding of the Christian Missions Progressive Committee in 1914, the establishment of the Chinese Domestic Missions Board in 1918, the emergence of “The Chinese returning to the Lord” movement in 1919, the appearance of the “Five Year Movement” that aimed at reviving the church, the “Moral Reformulation Movement” in 1938, etc. In this period, these missionary boards also set up the Chinese Christian Education Association, the China Medical Missionary Association, and other joint organizations.

Since the founding of the Anglo-China Academy in Malacca in 1817 by Ma Lixun, the tradition of Christian education in China had come into being. By 1914, the total number of schools in China was more than 4,100 with more than 110,000 million students. In addition, there were more than more than 10 universities in China, including the founding of Soochow University by the US Methodist Episcopal Church, South in 1901; St. John University by the Episcopal Church in the United States of America in 1905; Hangchow University jointly founded by the North and South of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America in 1910; West China Union University jointly founded by the American Baptist Church, The Methodist Episcopal Church, the British Anglican Church, and the United Church of Canada in 1910; Huanzhong University in Wuchang jointly founded by American Episcopal Church, The Evangelical and Reformed Church of America, Yale-China Association, London Missionary Society, and the Methodist Church in Britain in the same year; University of Nanking by the United States Baptist Church, American Episcopal and Methodist Church, Presbyterian Church, and Christ Church in 1911; Hwa Nan College by American Episcopal and Methodist Church in 1914; Xiangya Medical School in Changsha by the American Protestant Church in the same year (renamed Xiangya Medical University in 1924 and changed to Xiangya Medical College in 1935); Nanjing Jinling Women’s Liberal Arts college jointly founded by London Missionary Society and the United States Baptist Church, and Methodist Episcopal Church in 1915, Shanghai Hujiang University by the United States North and South Baptist Churches in the same year; Lingnan University in Guangzhou by United States Presbyterian Church and United States Funding Committee in 1916; Yenching University in Beijing jointly founded by The American Presbyterian Church, The Methodist Episcopal Church, the London Missionary Association, and the Rockefeller Financial Group, Princeton Financial Group, New York Trust, and Harvard-Yenching Institute in

1916, with Situ Leideng (John Leighton Stuart), a missionary of the American South Presbyterian Church and later the United States ambassador to China, as President of the University; Cheeloo University in Shangdong jointly founded by American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, The Methodist Episcopal Church, the London Missionary Association, British Baptist Church, the United Church of Canada, etc., in 1917; Fukien Christian University jointly founded by United States Episcopal Church, The Methodist Episcopal Church, Reformed Church, and the Anglican Church in 1918; Peking Union Medical College by United States Protestant Church in 1906; Sanyu University in Shanghai by the United States Seventh-day Adventist Church in 1927; etc.

4.7.4 The Autonomy and Local Color Movement of Chinese Christian

Faced with the rampant Western powers and the Sino-Western cultural conflicts, Chinese Christians gradually realized the importance of getting rid of the Western Church control and independent development, thus giving rise to the Chinese church's self-reliance and local color movement. In 1872, the Cantonese Christian Chen Mengnan rented a house for his missions, with the ensuing establishment of Yuedong Guangzhao Chinese Missionary Society in 1873, initiating the Chinese themselves operating churches. In 1881, the Shanxi Christian Xi Shengmo founded the Gospel Hall in Deng Cun, advocating self-care, self-operating, and self-proselyting. In 1903, the Shanghai Presbyterian priest Yu Guozhen opposed the "protecting Confucianism" as an unequal clause and established Chinese Christian Independent Churches in 1906. In 1903, Chinese believers Gao Fengchi, Xie Honglai, and others also set up a Chinese Christians Association in Shanghai, and developed a number of branches nationwide. In this way, the Chinese churches' theme of "Self- governing, Self- supporting and Self-propagating" began to manifest. After 1910, China Christianity Self-Government Association was established in Shanghai, chaired by Yu Guozhen, with Zhabei Church as the Headquarters, and in 1920 convened the First National Congress of the Association. But this self-reliance movement, due to its over-xenophobic and resolute non-cooperation with foreign churches, was sinking into isolation, unable for sustainable development, and by 1933, China Christianity Self-Government Association had had to abandon its self-governing ideology.

In March 1922, due to a boycott of the World Christian Students Alliance in Tsinghua University in Beijing, there arose in Shanghai, Beijing and other places the "Anti-Christian Movement", and it quickly spread throughout the country, with the formation of a broader "Anti-Religions Movement." This movement and the reflected attitude of the Chinese society to Christianity and even to all the religions brought a tremendous shock to the Chinese churches. Chinese Christians deeply felt that "China's Christian ship" had sailed into the vast foggy sea, encountering the fierce waves, and according to their observation, the future prospects for the

Chinese Christianity was also covered with “hazy hue”.⁶⁵ In order to cope with the criticism of the movement, Jian Youwen, Fan Zimei, Yang Yihui, Ying Yuandao, and Wu Zhijian, the five Chinese believers published the Declaration on the Anti-Religions Movement, in which they, in refuting the anti-Christian views, also stressed that “we want such a Christianity is sinicized, and is a practical tool and guide to the development of life and the service to the society.”⁶⁶ In the views of these Chinese Christians, the development of Chinese churches is imminent and urgent. In May 1922, the Second Christian National Congress was held in Shanghai, and of the 1180 representatives who attended the Congress, the Chinese accounted for a half. The Congress focused on the self-governing of the Chinese churches and publicly proposed “the Chinese local-color churches”. The Congress decided to rename the Chinese Continuation Committee as the National Christian Council of China and elected Cheng Jingyi as the President. It stressed “the marriage between the church and the Chinese culture in washing away the Western color,”⁶⁷ and published “the declaration of the Church”, putting forward the “three self” principle of “Self-Support, Self-Governing and Self-Propagation”: “We ask the Chinese disciples of Jesus Christ to have all-out cooperation and systematic charities to achieve the goal of self-support; through the decisive practice, fearless of experimentation and failure, to achieve the right target of self-government; and moreover, with the more adequate religious education, the cultivation of leaders and sincere personal missions, to achieve the goal of self-propagation.”⁶⁸ The Chinese “Local-Color Church” and its “three self” principle promoted in ideology the dialogue between Christianity and Chinese culture, giving rise to local color theologians such as Wu Leichuan, Zhao Zichen (1888–1979), Wang Zhixin, Xu Baoqian, Xie Fu Ya and others; in terms of organization, it promoted the union of various Chinese Christian sects, as well as the development of self-sustaining churches or the self-supported churches; politically, it encouraged Chinese Christianity to break away from the unequal treaties; for instance, in 1925 Wang Zhixin and others founded “The Chinese Christians Association in Abolishing the Unequal Treaties”, and Chinese Church schools also launched the movement of reclaiming the “right to education” to make the Chinese people manage their schools. The Chinese “Local-Color Church” movement made Chinese Christians really begins to pay attention to China’s social and political fates and cultural development, and many Christian thinkers, in the aspects of the “localization” of the Chinese Churches and the issue of “the local color”, started serious thinking and conscientious writing to promote the initiation of contextualized Chinese theology. After the outbreak of the Anti-Japanese War, many Christians actively participated in the struggle of saving the nation for survival, demonstrating great patriotic enthusiasm. Wu Yaozong (1893–1979), a former supporter of the Christian path of “love” also changed his

⁶⁵*Missionary Journal*, Volume 58, Editorial No. 7, p. 1.

⁶⁶Zhang (1927).

⁶⁷Wang (1940).

⁶⁸“Report of the National Christian Congress (1922)”.

stand and actively participated in the Movement of Resistance against Japan and Save the Nation from Extinction. Liu Zhan, President of the Hujiang University, for refusal to act as the minister of education for the Japanese-controlled pseudo-government, was brutally murdered; Situ Leideng (John Leighton Stuart), head of Yenching University and Zhao Zichen, the dean of its Department of Religion were arrested and thrown into jail, exhibiting their indomitable Christian spirit and integrity and bravery against Fascism. After the Anti-Japanese war, Situ Leideng was appointed by the United States as Ambassador to China, becoming the executioner of the United States' policy of "Supporting Chiang Kai Shek and Opposing the Communists", and in 1949 when Nanjing was liberated, he attempted to contact the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, but due to the United States government's opposition, he couldn't achieve his goal. The Western missionaries in China at the time were mostly on the political side of Western countries, but there were also those with sympathy and support for the Chinese revolution, such as the Canadian Protestant Church missionary James Gareth Endicott, who supported the Student Patriotic Movements and understood the development of the Chinese revolution. In 1948, Zhao Zichen was elected vice-president of the World Christian Association. By 1949, there were about 800,000 Christians in China.

4.7.5 Contemporary Development of Chinese Christianity

After the founding of the People's Republic of China, Christianity has started its independent development. At the end of July, 1950, 40 eminent church personalities, headed by Wu Yaozong, Director of the Publication Division of the National Association of Chinese Christian Youth Association, published a joint declaration entitled "The way of Chinese Christian efforts in the construction of New China" (hereinafter referred to as the three-self declaration), got positive responses from Chinese Christians, thus initiating the Three Self Patriotic Movement of Chinese Christianity. In 1950, China began its movement to resist the American aggression and support the North Koreans, Zhao Zichen, a participant of the World Christian Association Conference, knowing that the Association had declared its support of the U.S.-led Western stance, resolutely retreated from the Association, returned to China, and announced his resignation of the post of its vice-chairman. At the end of 1950, the United States froze the Chinese property in the United States, and in January 1951, National Chinese Christian Association convened a standing committee to make a resolution to "totally reject donation of any foreign project", and other national denominational organizations all responded positively. The denominational groups met in April 1951, adopted "the joint declaration of the representatives of Christian groups in China", and prepared the "Three-self Patriotic Reform Movement Committee of the Protestant Churches in China (Preparatory Committee)", chaired by Wu Yaozong. In November 1952, Jinling Concord Theological Seminary was established in Nanjing, with Ding Guangxun (1915–

2012) acting as the Dean, and a journal *Nanjing Theological Review*; the current dean is Gao Feng (since 2010).

In July and August of 1954, the Chinese Christian churches held a national conference in Beijing to formally set up the “three-Self Chinese Protestant Patriotic Movement Committee”, replacing the previous “Three-self Patriotic Reform Movement Committee of the Protestant Churches in China (Preparatory Committee)”. The conference elected Wu Yaozong as its first chairman and decided that its meeting place was Shanghai. In 1956, the Chinese churches carried out a great theological debate over how Chinese theology was to adapt to the socialist society. The movement largely accelerated the lessening of the sectarian consciousness, prompting the Chinese church to achieve a grand coalition in 1958, and the organization of joint worship; thus Chinese Christianity entered the “post-sectarian period”. In 1961, the second National Conference of Christianity in China was held in Shanghai, with Wu Yaozong re-elected president. In 1980, the third National Conference of Christianity in China was held in Nanjing, with Bishop Ding Guangxun elected Chairman of the Three-self Patriotic Movement of the Protestant Churches in China, and the Conference also set up the China Christian Association, a nation-wide institution for church affairs, chaired by the Bishop of Ding Guangxun. Since then, those who acted as the chairman of the National Committee of Three-Self Patriotic Movement of the Protestant Churches in China include Luo Guanzong (1998–2001), Ji Jianhong (2002–2008), and Fu Xianwei (since 2008). The presidents of the China Christian Association include Han Wenzao (1998–2001), Cao Shengjie (2002–2008), and Gao Feng (since 2008). In 1988, the China Christian Association formally joined the World Christian Association and resumed its connection with it after the interruption of nearly 40 years.

In November 1998, the Three-self Patriotic Movement of the Protestant Churches in China convened the Jinan conference to make “resolutions upon the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Three-self Patriotic Movement of the Protestant Churches in China” and the “resolutions on strengthening the construction of theological ideology”, which actively promoted the theological construction of the Chinese churches. In 2014, the Chinese Christian churches held in Shanghai a general assembly to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Three-self Patriotic Movement of the Protestant Churches in China, and to actively promote the “sinicized” development of Christianity, with the explicit expression that Christian “localization” is “sinicization”, and that it should actively adapt to the Chinese society and culture. At present, Chinese Christians total about 30 million.

References

- Anzhai, L. (2005). *Field Studies on the Religious History of Tibet* (p. 17). Shanghai Century Publishing Group.
- Chen, Y. (1980a). *Chen Yuan xueshu lunwen ji* [Collection of Academic Papers by Chen Yuan] (Vol. 1, p. 305). Zhonghua Book Company.

- Chen, Y. (1980b). *Collection of Chen Yuan's Academic Papers* (Vol. 1, p. 545). Zhonghua Book Company.
- Chen, Y. (2016a). *Collection of Chen Yuan's Academic Papers* (Vol. 1, p. 84). Zhonghua Book Company.
- Chen, Y. (2016b). *Collection of Chen Yuan's Academic Papers*, Vol. 1, Zhonghua Book Company, p. 2.
- Chen, Y. (2016c). *Collection of Chen Yuan's Academic Papers*, (Vol. 1, p. 30). Zhonghua Book Company.
- D'Ohsson. (1962). *D'Ohsson's History of Mongolia* (Vol. 1, p. 264), trans. Feng, C. China Book Company.
- Gong, F., & Kejia, Y. (1998). *Aojiao shi* [History of the Ao Religion] (pp. 228–232). Shanghai Social Science Academy Press.
- Guangdan, P. (1983). *Zhongguo jingnei youtairen de ruogan lishi wenti* [Some Historical Issues Regarding the Jews in China] (p. 48). Peking University Press.
- Gu, Y. (1989). *The Past and Present of Chinese Catholicism* (p. 81). Beijing: Shanghai Social Academy Press.
- Hayes, C. J. H., Moon, P. T., & Wayland, J. W. (1975). *World History* (Vol. 2). SDX Joint Publishing Company.
- Jiyu, R. (1981). *Hantang fojiao sixiang lunji* [Collection of Essays on the Buddhist Thought of the Han and Tang Dynasties] (p. 18). People's Press.
- Jiyu, R. (Ed.). (1998). *Zongjiao dacidian* [The Great Dictionary of Religions] (p. 650). Shanghai Lexicographic Publishing House.
- Kong, X. (1986). Kaifeng Yicileye gouchen [Research on the Kaifeng Judaism]. *World Religious Materials*, 2.
- Li, J. (2003). *The evolution history of religions in Xinjiang* (p. 193). Xinjing People's Press.
- Meicun, L. (1991). Youtairen ruhua kao [Research of the Jewish Entry to China], *Wenwu* [Cultural Relics], 6.
- Moule, A. C. (1984). Christians in China before the year 1550 (p. 196, trans. Hao Zenhua). China Book Company.
- Qabbê Cêpân Püncog. (2004). *A general history of Tibet* (Vol. 1, pp. 104–107). Tibetan Classics Press.
- Qianzhi, Z. (1993). *China's Jingjiao* (pp. 61–62). People's Press.
- Qin, H. (1995a). *Chinese Islam and traditional culture* (p. 33). China Social Sciences Press.
- Qin, H. (1995b). *Chinese Islam and traditional culture* (pp. 335–336). China Social Sciences Press.
- Qin, H. (1995c). *Chinese Islam and traditional culture* (p. 26, 48). China Social Sciences Press.
- Qin, H. (1995d). *Chinese Islam and traditional culture* (p. 50). China Social Sciences Press.
- Shen, J. (2010a). *The silk road* (p. 111). China Book Company & Shanghai Ancient Books Press.
- Shen, J. (2010b). *The silk road* (p. 107). China Book Company & Shanghai Ancient Books Press.
- Shoujiang, M., & You, J. (2000a). *A brief history of Chinese Islam* (p. 134). Religious Culture Press.
- Shoujiang, M., & You, J. (2000b). *A brief history of Chinese Islam* (pp. 152–153). Religious Culture Press.
- Shoujiang, M., & You, J. (2000c). *A brief history of Chinese Islam* (p. 150). Religious Culture Press.
- Shoujiang, M., & You, J. (2000d). *A brief history of Chinese Islam* (pp. 180–182). Religious Culture Press.
- Wang, Z. (1940). *An outline history of Christianity in China* (p. 268.). China : Youth Association Book Company.
- Wang, Z. (Ed.). (2013). *The great word-Ocean dictionary* (p. 184). Shanghai Lexicographical Publishing House.
- Wenhan, J. (1982a). *Ancient Chinese Christianity and the Jews in Kaifeng* (p. 140). Knowledge Press.

- Wenhan, J. (1982b). *Ancient Chinese Christianity and the Jews in Kaifeng* (p. 133). Knowledge Press.
- Wushu, L. (1987). *Manichaeism and its eastward transmission (Moni Jiao jiqi dongjian)* (p. 46). Zhonghua Book Company.
- Wushu, L. (2003). *A reexamination of the tang dynasty Jingjiao* (p. 106). China Social Science Press.
- Xiaoyun, Z. (2012). *Research on China's southern Theravada Buddhism* (pp. 99–108, 69). China Social Science Press.
- Ze, W. (Ed.). (1981a). *Chen Huan shixue lunzhu xuan* [Selected historical research works of Chen Huan] (p. 82). Shanghai People's Press.
- Ze, W. (Ed.). (1981b). *Chen Huan shixue lunzhu xuan* [Selected historical research works of Chen Huan] (pp. 84–85). Shanghai People's Press.
- Zhang, Q. (1927). Religious trend in China in the last ten years, Yenching Chinese School Northeast Congregational Church Press, pp. 21–211.
- Zhang, X. (1930). *Materials for the study of the intercourse of China with other countries* (Vol. 6, pp. 1–2). Fu Jen Catholic University, Beiping.
- Zhou, X. (1998). *Records of Christianity and Judaism* (p. 281). Shanghai People's Press.

Chapter 5

The Religious Culture of the Chinese

5.1 The Spirit of Religious Culture

Chinese religions represent a convergence of multifarious developments, encompassing various sources and factors, that is, like the sea holding the water from thousands of rivers. Thus, the Chinese religions are marked by a pluralistic integration, not just a “domestic product” or a closed-off result. But, as a culture with long standing traditions, and as a history having undergone various kinds of integration, the spirit of the Chinese religions also declares its unique charm, worth pondering over and musing about, from which we can feel or perceive its multi-component structure, unity within openness, and innovation within unity. Compared with other nations or civilizations of the world in terms of the religious spirit, the cultural spirit of the Chinese religions, though professing its self identity and independence, all the more manifests its integrative bent, communal spirit and common features. Chinese religions, in its cultural immersion, nurture and cultivation, progressed together with the collective character of the Chinese people and revealed its sustenance and perfection of the order of which it was a part. It can be said that the Chinese culture is not of the type that stresses individuality, but one that reflects a complicated collective awareness; this trait also permeates the breaking-in and progression of the Chinese religions. Religions, indigenous or foreign in nature, are all to be remolded in this atmosphere.

The cultural ethos of Chinese religions, first of all, is one of harmony. From ancient antiquity till now, China has been pursuing a culture of “harmony”, which has become the soul of the Chinese people. When our thoughts go back to the earliest antiquity, muse over the present and foresee the future, this notion of harmony is “oneness that unites all”, which spans over both time and space and constitutes the most typical spiritual symbol of the Chinese. The connotations of the word “harmony” has a rather distant origin, and the classics of China’s high antiquity had already expressed the essence of “*he*” (as in *hexie* or harmony), such as in expressions like “*hehe* or harmonious unity”, “*hemu* or peaceful harmony”,

“*hexie* or tune/ful harmony”, “*heping* or peace”, “*heqi* or harmonious Qi”, “*heshang* or superior harmony (later used to designate a monk, particularly a senior one)”, “*taihe* or great harmony”, “*zhonghe* or centrality and harmony”, “*yihe* or nourished harmony”, “*baohé* or preserving harmony”, etc. The symbol for “*he*” is the circle, connoting perfection, fullness, all encompassing, all dissolving and all complementing. The notion of the Chinese social order is *yuanrong* or perfect interfusion; in the Chinese cosmology, “heaven is round and the earth is square; *yuan* or roundness denotes largeness to the utmost extent, symbolizing a holistic encompassment and capacity. So this religious ethos explains why Chinese culture is a “culture of *yuan*” or “a culture of perfect inter-fusion”. Related to the “*hexie*” is the “*zhongyong* or centrality and commonality” manifested in the Chinese religious culture. To Confucius, people should “sacrifice to the spirits as if they were present”, and “pay respect to the spirits, but keep away from them”, but meanwhile “the master never discussed strange phenomena, physical exploits, disorder or ghost stories,” typically expressing the demeanor characterized by centrality and commonality, with great skill and ease. These assertions situate the Chinese between “theism” and “atheism” in a quite balanced manner. Thus, the key word for the Chinese culture of faith is “*zhong* (center or middle)” and *Zhongguo* (China) is the *guo* (nation or state) in the center, meaning both the core at the center or possessing the tactic of “*zhongyong*”. “*Zhongyong*” dissolves contradictions, oppositions and conflicts, positioning the Chinese between having faith and having no faith, having religion and having no religion, or having spirits and having no spirits.

As the basis of China’s social order, the Chinese religious culture has a most profound mystery, that is, the pursuit of “unity”, stressing and maintaining the unity of the state or nation, or in a global lens, the pursuit of a world of “great unity”. In order to achieve “unity” and maintain “unification”, people do need a “solid union”, hence the admonition of “unification of the country and union of the peoples”, deemed as the fundamental safeguard of national existence and prosperity. Due to the indistinct presence of this spirit, the Chinese culture pursues a culture of “union”, which is regarded as an “absolute order”. The Chinese religious ethos aims at “holistic monism”, different from the Western principle of “dualistic antagonism”; though there is “one divides into two” in the Chinese critical thinking, the goal is “combine two into one”. Though emphasis is given to “union” and “struggle”, the purpose is “union”, which accords with “peace claims precedence (*he wei gui*)”. Though “anything long divided will surely unite, anything long united will surely divide” is accepted, “unity” is always the object of seeking and preserving. The “*he*” is cosmologically expressed as “unity of heaven and man”, different from the Western religious “separation of gods and men”; in practice, emphasis is given to “the unity of knowledge and practice” instead of the difference between “pure reason” and “practical reason”. Since “unity” is not monolithic or uni-colored, “co-construction” tends to be especially important. The “unity” of China is “multiple integration” and “the co-construction of multi-nationalities”, and accordingly the Chinese religious culture needs a spirit of “joint harmony”, and a notion of “inter-fusion”, seeking and preserving the existence of a “community of

common destiny”. Herein is found that the Chinese religious ethos advocates a “joint harmony” and esteems a “faith in the community of common destiny”.

It is actually a misunderstanding to argue that Chinese religions lack a sense of “transcendence”. In fact, what the Chinese religious culture promotes is not only the immanent transcendence of “cultivating one’s own virtue in solitude” and “being not pleased by external gains, not saddened by personal losses”, but also the “external transcendence” of “the Tao spanning all eternity” and “the Tao following the self-so”. In the Chinese religious insights, destiny or providence in “the imperceptible” is not simply fatalism, but a depth that transcends perception. And the folk sayings of “there is always a god three inches above your head” and “The heavens see every act of man” are also popular expressions of transcendence in the Chinese culture of faith. Correlated to this “transcendence” is a unique expression in the Chinese religious culture, termed “easeful freedom” or “detachment”, which enables one to have an insight into the boundless universe, see through the myriads of things in human life, with a natural elegance or disengagement characterized by a freedom to resign oneself to one’s fate and an unrestrained ease in life. By means of an inner assurance, Chinese religions provide “spiritual comfort” or “chicken soup for the soul”, making one away from hopelessness or a blind alley, and enabling him or her to find “enchanted new sights”, a hope of renewed life or even a realm of “living or being towards death”. This “detached” mentality is none other than the “Zen spirit and the realm of Tao” sought by Chinese in their religious faith and practice; it is their “poem of life”. In addition to the outward detachment, the Chinese religious ethos has likewise an inner bent toward a concern for the people and “benevolence” toward the society. There are at least three layers of meaning in “completely overcoming selfishness and abiding by propriety is humaneness” and “the humane one loves others”. Firstly, the loving concern for the society must be accompanied by a keeping to order, or maintaining and preserving public order and commonly accepted rules of conduct. Secondly, as a human being, one must love others; love is a cohesive for harmony between people, since coexistence only comes from loving others. Thirdly, social coexistence also calls for self-sacrifice; checking selfishness and forgetting the self are the supreme degree of benevolence and the most difficult requirement of being human. Benevolence can only be reached and achieved through self-sacrifice.

To this end, the Chinese religious ethos requires the practitioners to have social “obligations”, hence forming the tradition and essence of the “*shi*” in Chinese culture. The spirit of the “*shi*” reflects and is naturally supported by a religious sense, enabling one to shoulder social responsibilities with “an unrestrained showing of abilities”, a dare to be pioneers, and an unwillingness to give any sign of weakness. In thoughtful probings, the *shi* has a vigor of inquiring about the heavens and a cosmic demeanor, like Pegasus galloping across the skies without reins and fetters; in the pursuit of ideals, the *shi* may be a martyr, willing to sacrifice his blood and life. With the examples of *shi* from Qu Yuan (340–278 BC, a Chinese poet and minister in the Warring States period of ancient China) to Tan Sitong (1865–1898, Chinese politician, thinker and revolutionist in the late Qing Dynasty), the “Culture

of Chu”, permeated with a religious aroma, nourished the *shi* with the needed soil and air. Humans seek existence and livelihood amid heaven and the earth and can, too, be integrated therein. Without such a religious dimension and expectation, the spirit of *shi* can hardly be reconstructed. Correspondingly, when it comes to the individual, Chinese religions call for a “diminished self and a patient forbearance” with a self-discipline of “overcoming selfishness” and “self-restraint”; when it comes to the social or political relationships, the *shi* should be like the “wisest hermits who serve in courts” and one “not daring to put oneself ahead of everybody”. The benevolent person is required to have introspection, inner cultivation, and discreteness in word and deed, and what’s more, an exacting demand of “recording only the faults instead of the merits”. Here “the benevolent person”, also “the person with forbearance”, must bear disgrace for important duties and endure hardships to accomplish the ambition, meanwhile exhibiting humbleness, low-profile and an attitude of concession. Of course, the formation of such a mindset has both its advantages and its negative effects. In addition, it must be admitted that there does exist a dimension of “mysterious emptiness”, manifested in the varieties of mysterious intentions, dreamy states, and blurred perceptions, and moreover, a content with “the difficult yet ideal state is to be muddled”; all this results in an attitude of numbness and coldness, leading to passivity, avoidance and indifference in facing the society. Therefore, in face of the diverse conceptions derived from the Chinese religious culture, we need differentiating and choosing, promoting together with rejecting, so that these notions could always have constant innovation, social adaptation and timely progress.

5.2 The Development of Religious Literature

Chinese religious literature could be traced back to the Pre-Qin Period, with *The Book of Poetry* representing the beginning of the relatively mature religious literature. This anthology has three parts namely, “Airs of the States”, “Hymns” and “Eulogies”. The Eulogies sections are sacrificial songs for ancestral temples of a ruling house, and therefore are directly related to religious activities. *The Book of Poetry* has wonderful depictions of *Tian*, the object of worship in primitive Chinese religions, expressing people’s imagination and reverence of it. Apart from that, *The Book of Poetry* vividly portrays the scenes of Chinese ancients making sacrifices to ancestral spirits. Ancient Chinese believed in the mysterious link between heaven and the earth, and used to connect closely “*Tian*” with their “*zu* or ancestors” and eulogize them together. For instance, in “Xuan Niao (Mysterious Bird)” of the Eulogy of Shang, was found the classic expression of “Heaven commissioned the swallow,/To descend and give birth to [the father of our] Shang./[His descendants] dwelt in the land of Yin, and became great./[Then] long ago God appointed the martial Tang,/To regulate the boundaries throughout the four quarters”. Another important development of religious culture in this period is *Chu Ci*, or *Verses of Chu*, represented by Qu Yuan and his student Song Yu (historically known as

Qu-Song). Qu Yuan was a great patriotic poet, whose works, though rooting in the dense witchcraft culture of the Xiangchu region, embodied a unique religious romanticism. His “Encountering Sorrow” (“*Li Sao*”), “Heavenly Questions” (“*Tian Wen*”), “Nine Songs” (“*Jiu Ge*”), and “Summons of the Soul” (“*Zhao Hun*”), etc. were characterized by both political yearning and religious transcendence; therefore, “it can be accompanied by a song when you are happy and be regarded as tearful cries if you are sad” (Chen Benli, *The Essence of Qu Yuan’s Verse*). Particularly in the “Nine Songs”, a piece of work that depicted such religious scenes as witchcraft and sacrificial activities in China’s ancient antiquity, we seem to hear sounds from heaven and see lifelike spirits that move us so much. The Eastern Emperor Tai Yi: “Stroking the jade ring of the long sword,/While the jade pendants on the clothes clanked”, “Sorceress in pretty dresses danced beautifully,/The entire hall was filled with fragrance.” What a magnanimous image of God! The Lord Amid the Clouds: “I have washed in brew of orchid, bathed in sweet scents,/Many-colored are my garments; I am like a flower”, “He is coming to rest at the Abode of Life; As a sun, as a moonbeam glows his light.” Indeed, this is the glamour of the God of the Clouds! River God: “We rode in a water-chariot with awning of lotus-leaf/Drawn by two dragons, with griffins to pull at the sides”, “I climb Mount Kunlun and look in all directions;/My heart rises all a-flutter, I am agitated and distraught”. What a handsome and graceful River God! The Lord of the East: “There is a glow in the sky; soon he will be rising in the east./Now on my balcony falls a ray from Fu-sang”, “Coat of blue cloud, skirt of white rainbow,/I gather my reins and my chariot sweeps aloft./I take up my long arrow and shoot at the Heavenly Wolf”. The charm of the God of Spring is brimming over with life! Deity of the Xiang River: “May the Yuan and Xiang raise no waves,/May the waters of the Great River flow quietly!”, “Driving her winged dragons she has gone to the North;/I turn my boat and make for Dong Ting”. What a valiant and sagacious deity of the Xiang River! The Lady of the Xiang River: “God’s child has come down to the northern shore,/But her eyes gaze far away; it makes me sad”, “But from the Nine Doubts in a troupe to fetch her/Spirits are coming, many as the clouds”. Truly worthy to be the soft and tender goddess dressed in the sun rays! The Little Lord of Lives: “In coat of lotus-leaf, belt of basil/Suddenly he came, and as swiftly went”, “Chariot-awning of peacock feathers, halcyon flags—/He mounts to the Nine Heavens, wields the Broom-star”. What an ethereal and agile God of Autumn! Big Lord of Lives: “But all over the Nine Provinces there are people in throngs;/Why think that his task is among us?”, “One Yin for every Yang;/The crowd does not understand what we are doing.” Exactly like the Lord of Fate that gives and takes away lives! Mountain Spirit: “He is gazing at me, his lips parted in a smile;/Have you taken a fancy to me? Do I please you with my lovely ways?”, “Driving red leopards, followed by stripy civets,/Chariot of magnolia, banners of cassia”. Veritably, a goddess of Mount Wushan whose soul traverses hills and plains! National Martyrs: “Sincere and valiant, and O so skilled in war,/Unyielding to the end and never to be bullied”, “The body dies yet the soul turns godly,/your *hun* and *po* are heroes amid ghosts”. How tragic and majestic are the spirits of the

outstanding heroes!¹ These images of spirits vividly depicted both in appearance and in essence get one's imagination to linger on the supernatural realms of ancient religious worship. Qu Yuan's descriptions generate tremendous literary effects.

The religious literature of the Pre-Qin period also included such mythical fiction as *Insignificant Remarks on Classical Literature* and *Chronicle of Emperor Mu of the Zhou* as well as *Classics of Mountains and Seas*, which exhibited the Chinese primitive religious pantheon. Thereupon, during the period of Qin and Han dynasties, additions to and imitations of the *Classics of Mountains and Seas* started to appear. *Book of Documents*, *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Zuo Commentary*), etc. during the Qin and Han dynasties had the literary depictions of the Heavenly God and ancestral spirits, together with narratives of prayers, exorcism and witchcraft. The morality stories in the Confucian *Analects* and the philosophical essays in the *Tao Te Ching* were likewise tightly bound to the religious ambiance at the time. In the Qin and Han dynasties, temple songs and songs for the suburban sacrifices constituted the major forms of poetry and rhymed prose, and *Huainan Zi*, with its sketches of Taoist immortals, became an important source for Taoist literature. The popular *Records of the Grand Historian* was also full of prose writings marked by religious aroma. During the Wei, Jin and the Northern and Southern Dynasties, when Buddhism had an extensive circulation and Taoism was in its heyday, the religious literature was mainly Buddhist and Taoist in nature. The poetry of Cao Cao and Cao Pi had obvious notions of Taoism and immortality in seeking the immortal-like romantic detachment. Works of the The Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove, including Ji Kang and others, similarly revealed the yearning to escape the world and seek immortality; their works were grounded in the thoughts of Lao Zi and Zhuang Zi. On the other hand, the landscape poems of Xie Lingyun started to exhibit the Chan charms and implications, and his "contemplate emptiness in the Chan room, / analyze the wonderful truth of the cosmos" demonstrated sights of another kind. The famous monk Hui Yuan had the lines of "in leisure I turn the wheel of emptiness, / for the mysterious sutra therein. / The immortals were transformed to things, / better still if the two were in the mysterious darkness", which he used to express Buddhist ideals with Taoist means, and complement Buddhism with Taoist mysticism, all for the better sinicization of Buddhism. The Taoist monk Tao Hongjing expressed his yearnings for a reclusive life and a transcendental pursuit through his poems. He even treated the feudal imperial appointments with becoming modesty, displaying his wish to remain amid the mountains and rivers, smilingly dealing with the governmental positions by means of his "white clouds throng over the mountain ranges" and "the joyful comfort only comes within oneself". In this era, the supernatural tales and novellas on strange events were in popularity, and there were also folk stories as in *Biographies of Immortals*, *Hagiographies of Immortals*, *Records of Spirits and Ghosts*, *Arrayed Marvels*, *Records from Within the Obscure Realm*, *Records of the Search for Spirits*, *Records of the Dark and Visible Realms*, etc. These stories showcased the

¹Xinping (1988).

transformation between humans and ghosts, joys and sorrows, separations and reunions, despair and hope, greatly moving the people. *Biographies of Eminent Monks* by Monk Hui Jiao represented the highest level of biographies, and the most famous prose was Yang Xianzhi's *Records of the Monasteries in Luoyang*. The flourishing of Buddhism in this period led naturally to the climax of translating Buddhist sutras into Chinese, and the Buddhist scriptural literature arose spontaneously.

With the booming religious literature came the earliest work in literary criticism, that is, Liu Xie's famous *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*, rich in the inter-fusion of Buddhism and Taoism and the ideas of different beliefs complementing each other. The Sui and Tang dynasties and the following Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms witnessed a high watermark of Chinese literature. In poetry, there appeared the Poet Sage Du Fu, who had strong Confucian inclinations, the Poet Immortal Li Bai, who had the Taoist romantic freedom of detachment, and others such as Wang Wei outstanding for his Chan artistic conception; they all contributed a large number of poems that were passed down from generation to generation with popular reception. As illustrations, Du Fu's poetic lines that expressed his social intentions: "Not without intentions to live a reclusive life amid the rivers and seas,/with freedom and detachment I pass the days and nights with leisure" and the humanitarian "behind those red gates meat and wine are left to spoil/outside lie the bones of people who starved and froze"; poems expressing Li Bai's Taoist naturalness such as "out of the clear water grows the lotus, so natural without ornate decorations" and his thoughts on wandering immortals in "there is a guest riding on a crane, flying higher and higher to the (immortal realm of) Greatest Clarity". "Entering poetry through Chan" and "Chan metaphor for poetry" best characterized the profound Chan realm of poetry, as in the detachment of "Walk to where the streams run dry./sit and expect the rising clouds", the freshness of "Through pines the bright moon glows, Upon the stones the clear spring flows", and the brilliant lightness of "Springs run louder in quiet vales,/the sun slants more in dense hills"; the poems bring infinite beauty with "poetry in painting and painting in poetry" (remarks by Su Dong-po) and motion in stillness and stillness in motion. Admittedly, in the years when Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism were intermingled, the poets were not devoted to any single religion, but instead they intertwined, alternated between or syncretized the three. Poets like Liu Yu-xin, Liu Zong-yuan and Jia Dao expressed Confucian-Buddhist inclinations; poets such as Chen Zi-ang and Li Qi exhibited Confucian-Taoist conception; poets like Li Shang-yin left Taoism for Buddhism; and still Li Bai, Gu Kuang, Wei Ying-wu, Bai Ju-yi and others synthesized the three religions in their poems. Besides, this era also witnessed many Buddhist and Taoist monk poets. After the Dunhuang documents once more saw the light of day in the 19th century, people found in them a lot of religious literature written before and after the Sui and Tang dynasties. The legends of spirits and ghosts in the genre of legends at the time constituted another beautiful scene in religious literature.

The poetry of the Song Dynasty was compared favorably with that of the Tang, with obvious Confucian, Buddhist and Taoist conceptions. The outstanding poets

included Su Dong-po and others whose works had internal Buddhism and external Confucianism as well as combined Buddhism and Taoism. And the works of Wang An-shi and Huang Ting-jian had similar conceptions and inclinations of religious literature. And the poet Lu You of the Southern Song Dynasty had an indissoluble bound with Taoism, and Poet Xin Qi-ji of this era manifested Buddhist-Taoist conceptions in his works. Zhu Xi, the Song Dynasty poet who epitomized the Lixue (Neo-Confucianism), had obvious integration of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism in his writings. The Song Dynasty continued the tradition of the Wei-Jin supernatural tales in the style of literary sketchbooks, collecting supernatural fantastic tales, religious myths, and spirits-ghosts stories, the representatives of which included *Records of the Taiping Era*, *Investigating Spirits*, *Records of the Extraordinary Persons of the Jiang-Huai Region*, *Stories Heard by Yi-Jian*, *Record of the Cart Full of Ghosts*, etc. The development of the three religions of Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism in this era was also evident in the folk vernacular novels, categorized into Confucian, Buddhist and Taoist vernacular novels. The most influential novel of this genre was the *Poetic Tales of the Dharma Master, Tripitaka of the Great Tang, Procures the Scriptures*, whose story of the Master Xuan Zang who procured the Buddhist scriptures in India, constituted the source or conception of the Ming Dynasty novel *Journey to the West*.

Xiqu (traditional Chinese opera) sprang up in the Yuan Dynasty, and the works of Guan Han-qing, Ma Zhiy-yuan and Wang Shi-pu enjoyed widespread renown. Ma Zhi-yuan, influenced by the *Quanzhen* School of Taoism, wrote Operas of Immortals and Their Instructions and became the most classic expression of religious *Xiqu* of his time. The *Zaju* (variety show) Opera of the Yuan Dynasty was profoundly influenced by Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism, but there were also works that opposed the three religions. In poetry writing, the famous Taoist monk Qiu Chu-Ji combined perfectly the beautiful scenes and the Taoist conceptions to compose beautiful lines like “When plum petals burst into blossoms, the springs stir./Where the frost flakes fly, a wild goose carries a letter in the sky./I, awaiting the vernal wind, drunken lie.” The Confucian poet Yuan Hao-wen denounced Buddhism and Taoism, employing the worldly engaged obligation of “braving my life in dusty wind and rain” to oppose the otherworldly detachment of “like floating clouds and a lone crane, I belittle all earthly karma”. The Yuan Dynasty literary song writers mostly had a yearning for a reclusive life, and advocated the literary conceptions permeated with Taoist immortality and Buddhist monasticism, seeking a life of a recluse and a Taoist monk, and hoping to resolutely retire at the height of the official career for a life of detached immortals.

Ming Dynasty literature was renowned for its novels, most of which were chapter novels. The Ming Neo-Confucianism facilitated the unity of the three religions, which was also manifested in the literary works at the time. The convergence of multiple religions was typically reflected in the religious content of the novel *Siyouji* (*Four Journeys*): *Journey to the East* was mainly Taoist, narrating the story of the eight Taoist immortals crossing the East Sea after obtaining their immortality; *Journey to the South* mostly concerned Taoism, yet still open to the convergence of the three teachings; *Journey to the West* was an adaptation of

Master Xuan Zang's pilgrimage to the western paradise to procure the Buddhist sutras, being Buddhist mainly, and concerning the other two religions at the same time; and *Journey to the North* highlighted Taoism, with the inter-fusion of the three teachings at the same time. Such novels of religious myths also included the Taoist *Hanxiangzi*, the Buddhist *The Complete Records of the 24 Arhats* and *The Complete Biography of Guanyin of the South Sea*, and the *Biography of the Celestial Queen Lin* based on the cult of Mazu. Of all these novels, the most influential, widespread and lasting one was *Journey to the West* by Wu Chen-en; it has already become a precious gem in Chinese literature. *Investiture of the Gods*, allegedly written by the Ming Dynasty Taoist monk Lu Xi-xing, was also a famous piece of religious literature. Apart from these, religious flavors were also found in such vernacular novels of the latter Ming Dynasty as *Sanyan* or *Three Words* (including *Stories to Enlighten the World*, *Stories to Caution the World*, and *Stories to Awaken the World*) and *Erpai* or *Two Slaps* (including *Amazing Tales First Series* and *Amazing Tales Second Series*), etc. With the flourishing of the folk beliefs in the Ming Dynasty, the "Precious Scrolls" (*baojuan*), a folk speaking and singing literary genre that derived from the Buddhist "popular sermons", began to have a wider circulation and popularity, comprising the abundant historical materials of folk religious literature.

One most renowned piece of religious literature in the Qing Dynasty was Pu Song-ling's *Strange Tales from a Chinese Studio* whose descriptions of the fox spirits broke new ground with its originality in narrating human-ghost love and human-fox romance. Equally ingenious and moving were the Buddhist-Taoist plays such as *Thunder Peak Pagoda* and *The Hall of Everlasting Life*. Worthy of mention was the introduction of Christianity into Chinese religious literature, at a time when the cultural exchanges between China and the West made more progress. For instance, Hong Xiu-quan expressed Christian monotheism in his poetic lines "there are no other gods except the Heavenly Lord,/so why the foolishness to deem the false as the true?"; he expressed his views on the unification of the state and the church in "the roaring tiger and the snorting dragon in the world of light,/how happy it is to have great peace and unity!" Tan Si-tong wrote "the endless cycle of life and death does not merit our concern,/and the overturn of heaven and earth depends only on a chance," expressing his artistic state that was bound by Christianity and in which he saw through not only life and death but also space and time. The Qing Dynasty talent Li Shu-tong was ordained as Dharma Master Hongyi, adding another hue to religious literature.

Ever since the Republican Era, Chinese Christian literature has become a new force that arose unexpectedly and was regarded as an exotic flower in the garden of religious literature. The Chinese translation of the Bible had a part in China's Modern Vernacular Chinese Movement and the cultural enlightenment around the May 4th Movement in the beginning years of the 20th century. Later on, "Christianity and literature" has been an expression greatly concerned by the Chinese. A Christian influence or probing was obviously felt in the works of famous writers and poets like Lu Xun, Zhou Zuo-ren, Wen Yiduo, Xu Dishan, Bing Xin, Ba Jin, Lao She, Su Xuelin, Lu Yin, Zhang Zi-ping, Xiao Qian, Guo Mo-ruo, Cao

Yu, Yu Da-fu, Xu Zhi-mo, Xu Gao, Chen Mengjia, Ai Qing, etc. The vanguard writers of the 20th century manifested the Christian realm, Christian aesthetic permeation, the absorption of Christian conceptions and the creative use of the Christian subjects. Thereafter, the new generation of writers had some of them continued this tradition, manifesting directly or indirectly the Christian spirit in their works. Apart from the Christian literary creation and influence of Taiwanese writers like Zhang Xiaofeng, Rongzi, Wang Dingjun, Chen Yingzhen, Zhang Wenliang, Xing Lin, Chen Yunlin and Hongkong writers Su Enpei, Liang Xihua, Hu Yanqing, Gu Ying, Guo Si, Luo Jing, Wen Lanfang, Xiaomaizi, etc., mainland writers of the new generation, such as Bei Cun, Niwa, Lu Xixi, Sha Liang, Yu Zhenzhi, Pang Qingming, Huang Lihai, Du Shang, Tan Yantong, Yang Jing, Jiang Dengxing (Lao Ku), Fu Xiang, Zhu Bisheng, Xiao Xiao, Wang Weifan, Qi Hongwei, Lin Lu, Wu Erfen, Kong Xia, Na Dao, etc., formed the contemporary Christian Writers Group with Christian realm and pursuit. And the trend of overseas study and immigration led to the birth of overseas Chinese Christian writers, such as Shi Wei, Ning Zi, Fan Xuede, Haiping, Yezi, Tianying, Yaozhang Xinjie, Fan Songping, Wang Wenqin, etc., whose works were widely popular both among Chinese at home and abroad. In such literary works, particularly the new arising of Chinese Biblical literature, which had a large percentage, and even the poems of such poets as Su Ting and Haizi had indelible imprints of such Biblical literature.

5.3 Religious Art Creation

Creating religious art is different from theology and the abstract philosophical thinking; it tries to understand and pursue the divine presence through imaginal thinking. There is inter-fusion and co-structuring between religion and art, and religious art includes both the artistic expression of religion and the religious clothing and understanding of art. But expressing artistic inclination and innovation through religious subject matters is not, in a strict sense, religious art, for religious art in essence refers to the creation that serves religious goals through artistic expressions. As it is, for a piece of religious art, without its temporal and spatial background and concrete associations, it is difficult to judge its authenticity as religious art. For in the real-life world, religious art usually has the above-mentioned two functions or features, the mingling of which makes it hard for a simplistic division; therefore, an abstract judgment cannot be applied to it, and there must be a combined analysis between the spatial and the temporal as well as the subjective and the objective. Religious art includes the spatial art such as religious painting (2-dimensional), religious sculpture and religious architecture (3-dimensional); the temporal art such as religious music, epic and poetry; the spatial-temporal art like religious dances, religious drama, etc.; and some relevant religious rituals as well. Religious art regards religion as its purpose and art as its means to embody the religious truth and reflect its aesthetic values. The former encompasses the carrier of the religious classics, the expression of religious

doctrines, the supply of religious settings, the actualization of religious activities, etc.; the latter embodies an awareness of life and the meaning of living, the existence and expression of the reality and secularity of religious imagery and manifestations, the creativity and influence of religious imagination and symbolism, the contributions in terms of the spatial-temporal ornamentation, entertainment, inner comforts, etc.

The the spatial manifestations of Chinese religious art covers religious painting, ancient and modern, stone inscriptions, carvings, sculptures, calligraphy, Tibetan Buddhist Thangka, religious accessories, religious architecture such as Confucian and Buddhist temples, monasteries, grottos, Taoist palaces and temples, Christian church buildings, Islamic mosques, the unique Chinese Qubbah, etc. Traditions of religious painting dated far back to ancient China, and the varieties included murals, silk paintings, and stone paintings; in particular, the tomb murals were mostly religious in nature and full of mythical imaginations, as in the Han Dynasty tomb murals, unearthed in the Changsha Chu tombs and many other places, all expressing religious themes in painting.

Chinese Buddhist painting had its origin in the paintings of the Buddha. "Treatise on Buddhism and Taoism" (Shilao zhi) in the *Book of Wei* recorded that "Emperor Mingdi of the Han Dynasty asked painters to draw the portraiture of the Buddha to be placed on the Qingliang Platform and the Jieling Tombs". Cao Bu-xing of Kingdom Wu in the Three Kingdoms period was generally regarded as the patriarch of Chinese Buddha paintings. Wu copied the drawings of the Buddha brought to China by the Indian monk Kang Senghui, hence the birth of the Chinese paintings of the Buddha. After that, Wei Xie of the Western Jin composed the "Seven Buddha Lands" according to the techniques of Cao Buxing, gaining vast popularity. Religious paintings stress "capturing the spirit and neglecting the appearance" and emphasize the overall effect of the painting instead of the proportion of the figures, which for a long time became the feature of the Buddhist paintings. Ancient masterpieces of Buddhist figure paintings included the "Portraiture of Vimalakīrti" by the famous painter Gu Kaizhi, the composer of the painting "The Nymph of the Luo River"; the "Hell Scene Painting" and "Child Delivering Guardian Kings (or the Birth of Shakyamuni Buddha)" by Wu Daozi, regarded as the Sage of Painting and the patriarch of sculpting and painting; "Subjugating the Demons" by painter Yuchi Yiseng of the Western Regions; "Vimalakīrti's Teaching" by the Song Dynsty painter Li Gonglin, etc. Another feature of the Chinese Buddhist painting was the popularity of Chan paintings, with its origin in the flourishing of the Chan School of Buddhism, and till day there have always been the styles of Chan calligraphy and paintings. The Chan painters were divided into two groups, the Chan monk painters and the literati Chan painters, and the subject matters were figure paintings and landscape paintings, both exhibiting the Chan emphasis of spirit over appearance and realm-conception over realism. The representative paintings of the Chan monk painters included the "Sixteen Arhats" by Guanxiu of the Five Dynasties at the end of the Tang Dynasty, shocking the mundane world with its spiritual expression characterized by "grotesqueness and non-human like human figures". The wonderful creations of the literati Chan

painters should be attributed to the ink monochrome (shuimo) landscapes by the master literati painter Wang Wei, who combined painting with poetry writing. “As the first to infuse Chan into landscape paintings, Wang Wei unified realms of Chan, painting and poetry with the aesthetic of Chan contemplation, and was regarded as the patriarch of literati painting.” He “absorbed the Chan aesthetic into his painting, breaking through the traditional notions of creations and ways of artistic expression, and initiating the style of paintings marked by profundity, simplicity and a reverence for purport and realm”.² He thereby initiated the literati painting with a unique style. Wang Wei turned from the color shading technique to ink painting coloring, aiming at manifesting the Chan realm of “clear and profound elegance” and achieving the inter-fusion of poetic sentiments and painting endeavors. His representative “Wang River” unfolded a scene of “the winding mounts and vales,/the flying clouds and moving waters”, with amazing charm and splendor that made one gasp in admiration. The Chan paintings of the Ming and Qing dynasties also included Kun Can’s “Seclusion”, “Orchid Pavilion”, “Bamboo and Plum Blossoms: the Two Purities”, “Landscape in Imitation of Mi”, “Landscape Album”, etc., and Shi Tao’s “Stone Bamboo Scrolls”, “Mount Huangshan”, “Bamboo and Plum Blossoms: the Two Purities”, “Plum Blossoms”, “Streams and Autumn Rains”, “Clear Autumn in Huaiyang”, etc. The Buddhist paintings had also the varieties of murals famous both far and near, including the temple wall murals and the grotto murals, the most famous being the Mogao Cave murals of the Dunhuang Grottos.

The Tibetan Thangka was another wonderful, eye-catching flower in the garden of Chinese Buddhist paintings. “Thangka” in the Tibetan language refers to the scroll paintings mounted with color satin, that is, the color scroll paintings drawn or embroidered on cloth, silk, or paper for Buddhist worship. Apart from Thangkas painted in colors and print, there are over 10 varieties of Thangka in embroidery, brocade (barbola), tapestry in fine silks and gold threads, appliqué, pearls, and precious stone decorations, etc. The pigments used are mainly gold powder, silver powder, cinnabar, eolite and other mineral pigments, aided by corresponding plant pigments. In addition to Thangka painted in colors, there are other types such as those with gold, dark and vermilion backgrounds. Its subject matters mainly reflect Buddhist contents, with some from other aspects such as Indian cultural traditions, Tibetan social history, secular life, medicine, astronomy, etc., including portraits of the Buddha such as the various images of Shakyamuni and other Buddhas; images of Bodhisattvas such as Avalokitesvara and her various incarnations like the white tara, the green tara, etc.; the female Venerables (mostly Buddha-mothers); arhats; guardians in Esoteric Buddhism including various gods of money; patriarchs of various sects; outstanding figures in history; monastic doctrines and rules; various myths and legends; calendars and medicines in the natural science category; historical stories; ancient architecture; and varieties of religious cultivation such as sand mandalas in Tibetan Esoteric Buddhism (also termed “mandalas in colored powder”). In history, Thangkas were usually enshrined in monasteries, Buddha

²Zhang (2000a).

halls, monks' hermitages or the homes of Tibetan Buddhist believers. And now, as religious pieces of art, they have entered the secular world.

In the art of calligraphy that embodies the Chinese cultural features, Chan master Zhiyong, a descendant of Wang Xizhi, the Sage of Calligraphy, had the masterpiece of calligraphy "Thousand Character Classic in Regular and Cursive Styles", thus starting the tradition of generations of calligraphers handwriting the *Thousand Character Classic*. Having inherited the calligraphy styles of masters Cai Yi and Wang Xizhi, Zhiyong invented the "The Eight Principles of Yong (永字八法)³". The famous monk Huaisu was also a master calligrapher, with his regular script exquisite and rigorous, and his cursive style unrestrained; his enduring calligraphy works included "Huaisu's Autobiography", "Ku Sun Tie (Calligraphy Work of Bitter Bamboo Shoots)", "On Calligraphy", "Thousand Character Classic in Small Cursive Scripts", etc. The modern genius Li Shutong, ordained as Master Hong-yi, had among his many talents the creation of his wonderful calligraphy works. Different from his realm of life which came as a result of his drastic ups and downs in life, his calligraphic expressions turned from the dignified and vigorous manner to cheerful and ethereal charms. This style was reflected in his 74 calligraphy pieces preserved in "the Forest of Steles of Li Shutong's Calligraphy" set up in Tianjin in 1990.

The art of Chinese Buddhist sculpture was influenced by Indian sculpturing, which in turn was rooted in the Aryans' civilization in ancient India, Gandhara civilization, ancient Greece civilization as well as the cultures of the Mediterranean and West Asia. Hence, in the Chinese Buddhist art, particularly the statues art such as sculpture, was revealed the beauty that integrated Chinese and Western techniques, with both the oriental spirit and the splendor of Greece. Another feature of the Sinicization of the Buddhist statues art was the feminine tendency of the Buddhist statues, with the breakthrough of the Bodhisattva statues, changing the masculine traditions in the Indian statues of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas; in particular, the creation of the feminine statue of Bodhisattva Guanyin exhibited gentleness, elegance, magnificence, and a beauty of the "Eastern Venus". Besides, Buddhist sculpture pieces with Chinese figures emerged constantly with the deepening Sinicization progress of Buddhism. The Buddhist sculpture art concentrates on the varieties of Buddha statues and Bodhisattva statues. The enduring masterpieces of grottos' cliff stone carvings include statues of Dunhuang Mogao Caves, Yungang Grotto statues, Longmen Grotto statues, Maijishan Grotto statues, Tianlongshan Grotto statues, Dazu Grotto statues, Bingling Temple Grotto statues, etc. The famous temple statues include the bronze statue of Maitreya Buddha gilded with gold (over 26 ms tall) in Tashi Lhunpo Monastery in Shigatse city in Tibet. The preserved ancient giant Buddha and Bodhisattva statues include the Giant Buddha of Leshan in Sichuan Province, and the Giant Stone Statue of the Reclining

³Translator's note: "The Eight Principles of Yong (永字八法)" explains the writing of eight common strokes in regular script found all in the one character, 永.

Buddha in Dafowan in Dazu; the modern ones include Tian Tan Buddha, a 34-meter large bronze statue of Buddha Shakyamuni located at Lantau Island, in Hong Kong and completed in 1993, Guanyin Overlooking the Sea on Lotus Mountain in Panyu, Guangdong Province (completed in 1994, 40.88-meter tall Standing Guanyin Statue in bronze with gold foil), the Mount Lingshan Giant Buddha in Wuxi, Jiangsu Province (completed in 1997, 88-meter tall bronze standing Buddha statue), Standing South-Sea Guanyin Bodhisattva Statue on Mount Putuo, Zhejiang Province (completed in 1997, 33-meter tall), Seating South-Sea Guanyin Bodhisattva Statue on Mount Xijiao in Foshan City, Guangdong Province (completed in 1998, 61.9 meters tall), Southern Mountain Giant Buddha of Yantai City, Shandong Province (completed in 2004, 38.6 meter tall bronze seated Buddha statue), Statue of Guanyin on the Sea in Sanya City, Hainan Province (completed in 2005, 108-meter tall standing statue of Guanyin), Statue of Samantabhadra Bodhisattva of Ten Directions on Mt. Emei's Golden Summit, Sichuan province (completed in 2006, 48-meter tall), Central Plains Giant Buddha on Mount Lu, Henan Province (completed in 2008, 108-meter tall standing statue), Giant Maitreya Buddha of Mount Xuedou, Zhejiang Province (completed in 2008, 33-meter tall bronze seating statue gilded with gold), the Standing Statue of Thousand-Eyed and Thousand-Headed Bodhisattva Guanyin on Mount Wei in Ningxiang Hunan Province (completed in 2009, 99.19-meter tall), the Jinding Giant Buddha in Dunhua City, Jilin Province (completed in 2011, 48-meter seating Buddha statue), Eastern Forest Giant Buddha on Mount Lu in Jiujiang City, Jiangxi Province (completed in 2013, 48-meter standing statue), Statue of Ksitigarbha Bodhisattva on Mount Jiuhua, Anhui Province (completed in 2013, 76-meter tall bronze standing statue), the 81-meter tall Stone Five-Buddha Mountain Giant Buddha Statue carved on Mount Longevity in Qinhuangdao City, Hebei Province, the Wood carving statues such as Bodhisattva Statue in Puning Temple in Chengde City, Hebei Province and the Chandana Wood Standing Statue of Maitreya Buddha in Wanfuge (Pavilion of Ten Thousand Happiness) in Yonghe Lamasery, Beijing. Apart from all these, there are countless art gems of life-like Arhats statues in the temples. In 1996, China Buddhist Association supervised for Hainan Province the manufacture of the 56-meter tall Gold and Jade Giant Buddha; in 2002, in Anshan City of Liaoning Province was carved the seating Buddha statue in Xiuyan Jade which weighed over 260 tons; and in April, 2015, Taiwan artist Yang Huishan completed the 2-meter tall glazed standing statue of Thousand-Eyed and Thousand-Headed Bodhisattva Guanyin. Since the Reform and Open policies were carried out, many statues of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas have been created, quite a few of which are assembly line products of lesser values, but there are still some that will be enduring legacies in history.

Taoist painting had its origin in the Han Dynasty, and the silk painting unearthed in Mawangdui ("King Ma's Mound") in Changsha City was a typical Han Dynasty Taoist silk painting. The content of the early Taoist paintings roughly included Taoist immortals, personages, cultivation scenes, landscapes, etc. For instance, "the Heavenly Revered Ones and Immortals" aimed at promoting the doctrines of the Taoist religion, forming the subject matters of paintings such as "Riding a

Dragon on the Clouds”, “Eastern Murals”, “Western Murals”, etc. “Eastern Murals” had the theme of promoting kindness depicted in scenes of attaining immortality, thus termed “scenes of doing goodness”; “Western Murals” had the subject of avoiding evils, mostly with scenes of fighting and killing, thus deemed as “scenes of evils” to warn the world. The paintings manifesting the Taoist cultivation was mostly the “scenes of contemplation” aimed at “entering tranquility”, as in scenes of the various flying immortals in the “Highest Purity, Supremely Profound Nine-Yang”, “Positioning of the Three Talents”, “True Scripture of the Highest Purity Dark Mystery”, and “Jade Scripture of the Dark Mystery”. The Taoist landscape painting in its earliest stage also focused mostly on depicting the realms of immortals, it underwent the transition from “emptiness” to “reality”. The above-mentioned Gu Kai-zhi also bequeathed the world with his Taoist paintings, with “Mount Yuntai” as the representative, together with paintings of “Array of Immortals”, “Three Celestial Ladies”, etc. Wu Dao-zi, “The Sage of Painting”, composed his “Portrait of Zhongkui”, the figure described by Emperor Minghuang according to his dreams; Wu made this subject matter the preserved traditional item in Taoist painting, and the painters of the ensuing dynasties who had painted Zhongkui included Hunag Quan, Shi Ke, Gong Kai, Yan Hui, Dai Jin, Wen Zhiming, Gu Jianlong, Jin Nong, Zenitani, Ren Xiong, Ren Yi, Zhao Zhi Qian, Gao Qi-pei, etc., the most famous being Gao Qi-pei’s “Zhongkui Subduing the Demons”, “The Furious Zhongkui”, “Collections of the Mural Paintings of Zhongkui”, etc. For this reason, contemporary artist Ren Bo-nian created many outstanding pieces with subject of Zhongkui. In the arena of Taoist mural paintings, the Song Dynasty Wu Zong-yuan produced many Taoist wall murals; he was said to have created the thirty-six celestial emperors in highest Purity Palace of Luoyang, of which “Emperor of Red Brightness and Harmonious Yang” looked very much like the Zhao Guangyi, the Taizong Emperor of Song Dynasty; upon seeing it, his son, Emperor Zhenzong, was moved so much. Wu bequeathed to the world the “Chaoyuan Celestial Cane”, inspiring similar creations in the form of immortal scrolls. In the Taoist temples were preserved the famous Taoist wall murals such as the Dai temple murals in Tai’an, Shandong Province, the Palace of Everlasting Joy in Yongji, Shanxi Province. In these murals, varieties of immortals, Taoist monks, particularly the Eight Immortals, were given true-to-life presentations.

The Taoist calligraphy had its origin in the Taoist *Fulu* or Taoist secret talisman writing, giving rise to a unique art of Taoist calligraphy. This abstract calligraphy art of the Taoist *Fulu* writing was formed in *Lishu*, or clerical script, and consummated in the cursive style, especially featured by the unrestrained cursive. The Ming Dynasty Chen Ji-ru declared in *Record of the Taoist Writing* that “Taoist studies of calligraphy were found in detail in the *Section on Scriptures of the Three Caverns*”, including “original writs”, “cloud seals”, “six writings in eight forms”, “*fu hao* (symbols)”, “*baxian* (eight manifestations)”, “rhymed formula of the character *yu*”, “emperor’s words and imperial writings”, “cloud writs”, “dragon seal”, “phoenix writs”, “jade register and gold writs”, “stone characters”, “*tisu*”, “jade characters”, “jade”, “jade texts”, “*wensheng* notes”, “jade letters”, “red scripts”,

“jade tablets”, “scripts of happiness and blessings”, “silver compilations”, “red scripts”, “fire-refined scripts”, “gold pot ink scripts”, “fine jade notes”, “purple scripts”, “scripts of nature”, “*huicheng* scripts”, “*langjian xinshu*”, “*shishuo*”, “*langjian ruishu*”, etc.⁴ The famous calligrapher Su Shi ever exclaimed that the Taoist calligraphy was “amazing in its strokes, yet the characters unrecognizable”. In Chinese history, the Taoist calligraphers included Tao Hong-jing, Wang Xizhi, etc., and the Taoist cursive style was represented by Zhang Xu, who, based on and innovated the “roaring style” of Wang Xi-zhi, created “calligraphic art that is drunken wild and outpouring”; hence he was called the “Sage of the Cursive Style”. Su Shi used to have the co-emphasis of Buddhism and Taoism, his writings exhibiting mostly Taoist features, with a lot of valued pieces of calligraphy bequeathed to the world.

Influenced by Buddhist statues, the Taoist sculpture imitated in many aspects the Buddhist divine image-makings, but it had its own Taoist charm, trying studiously to express the Taoist immortal detachment and transcendence. It thus borrowed and absorbed the Indian Buddhist style and the Western verve, meanwhile propagating the Chinese exquisite traditions of bronze art, the seal style of calligraphy of the Qin Dynasty, and the painting techniques of the Han Dynasty, all of which led to its opening of a new path and forming a self-styled branch of art. The classical pieces of the Taoist sculpture preserved include the Taoist grotto statues on Mount Heming in Jiange, Sichuan Province, the Taoist stone statues in Dazu, Sichuan Province, the Taoist grotto statues on Mount Longshan, Shanxi Province, as well as the cliff statues on Mount Baiyang, the carved stone statues on Mount Qingcheng and Mount Emei, etc. The Statue of Laojun (the Old Lord or Laozi), over 5 meters in height, was carved out of one whole piece of huge rock, and it has become an enduring masterpiece of Taoist art of stone carving. The Taoist sculptural art is also embodied by the various statues in the Taoist temples and palaces, such as the statues in the Hall of Saintly Mother of Jinci Memorial Temple, the clay statues of Jade Emperor Temple, etc. in Shanxi Province. The Taoist sculptural subject matters include the divine statues of the “The Three Pure Ones” (The Jade Pure One (*Yuqing*), also known as “The Celestial Worthy of the Primordial Beginning” (*Yuanshi Tianzun*), the Supreme Pure One (*Shangqing*), also known as “The Celestial Worthy of the Numinous Treasure” (*Lingbao Tianzun*), and The Grand Pure One (*Taiqing*), also known as “The Celestial Worthy of the Way and its Power” (*Daode Tianzun*).); the revered gods of *Siyu* or “The Four Guides” (“The Great Jade Emperor”, “The great Heavenly emperor in the Crooked Constellation at the South Pole”, “The great emperor of the purple and subtle northern pole in central Heaven”, and “The Soil Deity of the August Earth”); The Lord King of the East; The Queen Mother of the West; The Mysterious Maidens of the Nine Heavens; The great emperors of the five summits (East, Central, West, South and North); the Five Emperors (the Blue-Green Emperor, the Red Emperor, the Yellow Emperor, the White Emperor, and the Dark Emperor); The Sovereign of the Clouds

⁴Quoted in Zhang (2000b).

of Dawn; The old lady from Mt. Lishan; Mother Dipper; the Supreme One; Grand Commander of the Year; Thunder God; Mother Lightening; the Master of Rain; God of Wind; The Triptych of Taoist Deities of Heaven, Earth and Water; Deities of the Twenty-eight Constellations; the Thirty-Six Heavenly Generals; 72 Earthly Fiends; God of Culture and Literature; Chief Star or god of exams; the Dragon King; Four Dragon Guardians of the Four Compass Directions (Green Dragon, White Tiger, Dark Turtle and Crimson Bird); Master Red Pine; Master Guangcheng; Marshal Zhao; Sage Emperor Guan; General Yue Fei; Eight Immortals of Iron Crutch Li (Tieguai Li), Han Zhongli (Zhongli Quan), Elder Zhangguo (Zhang Guo Lao), Immortal Woman He (He Xiangnu), Lan Caihe, Lü Dongbin, Philosopher Hanxiang (Han Xiang Zi), and Imperial Uncle Cao (Cao Guojiu); Great Immortal Wong (Huang); Ma Zu; Town God; God of Medicine; Gate God; Zhongkui; Erlang Shen; the various historical personages of the Taoist religion; etc. Besides, the Taoist statues art is equally seen in the diversities of carvings regarding the religion of spiritual beings, particularly representative of which were those of the Emperors' Mausoleums of Ming Dynasty, The Ming Xiaoling Mausoleum, Zuling Mausoleum, and Changling Mausoleum, including images of personages and animals; the personages include civil officials and military officers, and the stone animals cover lions, *xiezhi* (a legendary animal reputed to be able to distinguish between good and evil), camels, elephants, *qilin* (Chinese unicorn) and horses.

Chinese Islamic art includes decorative art, the architectural and sculptural arts of *daotang* (hall of the path), Gongbei⁵ or Gonbad, mazar (*Mazha*, meaning "tombs of the deceased Sufi masters", and emperors' mausoleums, as well as calligraphy, sutras and the designing of porcelain, etc. Islam forbids idolatry, so there are no paintings of human figures; the paintings are mostly flowers, grass, blades of leaves, scenery and architecture. Chinese Islamic calligraphy is based on Arabic traditions of handwriting and influenced by Persian calligraphy. The two styles of Islamic calligraphy are the angular and the cursive. The angular style is mainly composed of the Kufic scripts, with floral or foliated decorations between the lines or characters. The cursive style includes Naskh, Khatt Thulth, official style, scholarly style, Raihan, Persian style, etc. With their immersion in the Chinese culture, the Hui Muslims had many innovations; in their calligraphy, they were able to borrow the Han handwriting styles such as xingshu (running script), caoshu (cursive script), kaishu (regular script), lishu (official script), and zhuan-shu (seal character script) to blend with the Arabic and Persian styles of calligraphy. They used straw pens, hemp pens and even brush pens in writing, and could use Arabic letters for painting, forming the characters such as zhong (loyalty), xiao (filial piety), jie (fidelity), yi (righteousness), ning (quietude), shou (longevity), xin (faithfulness and integrity), etc., or the designs of flowers, boats, potted landscapes, etc. These calligraphy pieces with distinctive features are generally termed *jingzihua* "classic calligraphic

⁵Translator's note: *Gongbei* is a term used by Chinese speaking Muslims for an Islamic shrine complex centered around the tomb of a Sufi master.

painting” and are displayed as both scrolls hung in the central hall and as couplets after having been mounted on paper. The famous calligraphers include Haji Noor Deen Mi Guang Jiang and others. Moreover, the Chinese Muslim arts of textiles, embroidery and tapestries are equally famous, with quite a few exquisite pieces handed down through the generations.

Brick carving is the most famous in Chinese Islamic sculpture, as the art with most ethnic features of the Hui nationality; the brick carvings of Hezhou (the present Linxia in Gansu Province) and Tianjin are the most influential. In the ancient times, Linxia was termed Hezhou; hence the local brick carving works were called “Hezhou Brick-Carving”, characterized by the two methods of kneading and engraving. Kneading refers to the process of modeling the clay doughs and moulds into animal or plant shapes to be calcinated in the kiln into bricks; engraving involves the use of the graver on the blue bricks in carving various designs of reliefs, all the while manifesting the engraving strengths. Brick carving is mainly applied in decorating the mosques and other types of religious architecture, with subject matters of plants such as pine trees, cypress trees, lotuses, etc., and animal images like cranes, deer, etc., as well as the wonderful co-structuring of Chinese characters and Arabic calligraphies and different geometric patterns. The masterpieces of Brick carving by Zhou Sheng-pu and others are mostly found in *Hongyuan* (“red garden”), Dagongbei Mosque and Eastern Mansion. On the southern screen wall of the Yiziting of Red Garden is the brick carving “The Sun Rising over Mount Tai” and on the northern screen wall “Pomegranates and Double Happiness”, both being the modern masterpieces of the art. At present, the Linxia brick carving has had new varieties such as cement carving. The Tianjin brick carving was developed by masters such as Ma Shun-qing and Zhao Lian-bi into a unique art of stone sculpturing. Sun Feng-ming, Ma’s grandson, had the high reputation of being titled “Brick-carving Liu” for his exquisite skills in brick carving. In the Islamic and civilian architecture of Gansu, Qinghai and Ningxia provinces, brick carving was immensely popular and had many great pieces of art.

Chinese Catholic and Christian art can be traced back to the introduction of Nestorianism into the Tang Dynasty. Some even argue that the Christian art appeared as early as the Han Dynasty; as an illustration, according to Wang We-pan and others, the early Christian symbols could be found in the Eastern Han statue bricks collected in Xuzhou Museum. Yet due to the many doubts over it, this argument has not got a general academic consensus. The Nestorian art since the Tang Dynasty has obvious traces of Buddhism, as seen in the combination of the cross over the lotus. It was clearly manifested by the Nestorian Stele preserved in Xi’an City where under the cross surrounded by the auspicious clouds is the petal of the Buddhist lotus. In addition, the Nestorian murals and silk paintings found in Turpan, Dunhuang and other places also evidenced the influence of Buddhism. Even amid the popularity of the Madonna portraits after the Jesuits’ entry into China during the late Ming and early Qing periods, we may as well feel the edification of the Buddhist Guanyin portraits. Here we could compare vividly the “Madonna with Baby” with “Guanyin the Child-Deliverer”. The Catholic painting preserved since the Qing Dynasty are mainly “Madonna of China”, the four

“precious portraits” in Matteo Ricci’s *The Ink Garden of Mr. Cheng*, João da Rocha’s *Rules Concerning the Rosary*, Giulio Aleni’s *Print Research of Jesus Nativity Story*, and other series of paintings. The Catholic painting at the end of the Qing Dynasty mainly concerned with the missionary painters’ works, the most representative being Giuseppe Castiglione’s “Angels and Children”, “Saint Michael Triumphs over Satan”, etc. The Chinese Catholic priest Wu Yu-shan, also a famous calligrapher and painter, left to the world works like *Calligraphy and Painting Collection by Ink-Well*, etc.

During the “local color” movement after the entry of Christianity to China, the Christian paintings, under this influence, began to present the Christian figures in Chinese clothes and physical features; for instance, during the reign of Emperor Guangxu, Dai and his son composed the painting series of Gospel stories in the style of traditional Chinese painting and in the form of the Chinese folk art. In the first half of the twentieth century, the Christian painting continued with Chinese features, yet the Christian themes persisted, as in the Christian painter Xu San-chun’s “The Adoration of the Magi”, which presented the three Magi in Confucian, Buddhist and Taoist characters. During this period, Christian painter Chen Lu-jia also used traditional Chinese elaborate-style painting techniques to draw series of Christian works, including “Mother Savior”, “The Passion of Christ”, “Jesus Loves Children”, “The Queen of Gods”, etc. His student Lu Hong-nian employed traditional Chinese characters and village scenes to create the Gospel stories of “No Room in the Inn”, “Flee to Egypt”, “Madonna and Child”, “The Good Samaritan”; another student of his, Wang Xiao-da, for his Buddhist faith, completed masterpieces with Christian themes such as “The Annunciation” with settings in Chan Buddhist temples.⁶ Since China’s Reform and Open policies were carried out, paintings that embodied Christian conceptions included the works of Ding Fang, He Qi, etc.

The temporal expressions of Chinese religious art include varieties of religious music, songs, hymns, religious drama that combines both the temporal and the spatial, sing and dancing, etc. In ancient China, the word “巫” (witch) and “舞” (dance) were Interchangeable Characters; hence, the circulated “sound of witches”, “sacrificial songs”, “nuo drama”, etc. were the combined splendor of religion and art. Here religious art not only pursues divine goals but also caters to needs in life; for instance, “wuyu” or the rain dance originated in the ancient religious rituals of praying for the rain through dancing, as in “In case of a serious drought, the witches were led to perform rain dance” (*Rites of the Zhou Dynasty*: Spring Officials · Witchcraft Officials). “Ancient Music” in The *Lüshi chunqiu* or “Spring and Autumn of Master Lv” described music as follows, “in the old days of the legendary Emperor Ge Tianshi, three people, holding the ox tail and stepping on time, started to sing eight songs. The first one is Sustaining the People; second, Mysterious Bird; third, Good Wishes for Grass and Plants; fourth, Good Wishes for the Five Grains; fifth, Reverence for heavens; sixth, Do according to the Wills of

⁶He (2013).

the Heavenly Sovereign; seventh, Complying with the Virtues of the Earth; eighth, Praying for the Abundance of Animals". Here "the piece of music accompanied by dancing is divided into eight parts: the first part "Sustaining the People" eulogizes the grace of the earth; the second part "Mysterious Bird" praises the totem of the tribe of Getianshi; the third part "Good Wishes for Grass and Plants" prays for the luxuriance of the plants and grass; the fourth part "Good Wishes for the Five Grains" yearns for a golden harvest; the fifth part "Reverence for heavens" is worship to Heaven, showing reverence; the sixth part "Do according to the Wills of the Heavenly Sovereign" eulogizes the boundless beneficence of the Heavenly Sovereign; the seventh part "Complying with the Virtues of the Earth" repays the earth gods with thanks; and the eighth part "Praying for the Abundance of Animals" wishes that the fowls and beasts multiply and replenish the earth. This piece of music reveals the unity of art, religious sacrificial rituals, and production activities."⁷

Chinese Buddhist music had its origin in the Indian "fanbei (monastic liturgical singing or chanting)" (Fan means peace and quietude, stillness, and being away from desires; and bei means ceasing, the ceasing of breath, or gasping in admiration), that is, chanting and reciting the sutras through music and singing. Chinese monks reformed fanbei, rendering it into "zhuandu" used for chanting the prose sutras and the "beizan" for chanting Buddhist verses. From then on, "chanting the sutras was called zhuandu ("sound adaptation") and singing them fanbei" (Huijiao, *Biographies of Eminent Monks*). And Cao Zhi, a son of Cao Cao, "changed fan to qin", employing Chinese tunes to sing sutras translated into Chinese. In this way, the Buddhist music that came from India gradually mingled with traditional Chinese music, particularly Chinese folk music, to form the unique Chinese Buddhist music, hence the term "zhonguo fanyue" (Chinese Buddhist music). For the Chinese Buddhist monks, the meaning of the Chinese Buddhist music connotes "ability of knowing the deep and far-reaching virtues of the Buddha, structuring the sequence of the words, making the sensation of the tongue pure and clean, removing all obstacles from the bosom, rendering one in ease and calm when facing the multitudes, and achieving longevity and health; such inclinations led gradually to the aesthetic realm of the unique 'harmony, tranquility, purity, distance, antiquity, and detachment'".⁸ During the Southern and Northern Dynasties, the Buddhist musical dance drama flourished, and correspondingly the "method of sound adaptation" of the Brahma voice specifically for the Buddhist music came into being. Emperor Liangwudi, who revered Buddhism, also created Buddhist musical dance pieces, such as "shan zai (a term for Buddhist blessing)", "Immense Happiness", "Immense Joy", "Tao of Heaven", "Tao of the Immortals", etc.; he also set up "Children's Dharma Musical Dance". Qiuci music that was associated with Indian Buddhism was introduced from the *Xiyu* or western regions and flourished during the Sui and Tang dynasties. As recorded in Chen Yang's *Book of Music*,

⁷Jiang (2005).

⁸Jiang (2005).

there were 29 pieces of frequently played Buddhism music in the Musical Bureau tunes of the Tang Dynasty under the Li emperors, including the Buddhist music of “Universal Light”, “Maitreya Buddha”, “the Light from the Sun”, “Mahābala”, “tathagatagarbha”, “Medicine Buddha Vaidurya Light Tathagata”, “Non-Domineering and Being Moved by Grace”, “Qiuci”, “Shakyamuni Buddha”, “*Baohuabu* Buddha”, “Observing Dharma Assemblies”, “*Dishichuang* Buddha”, “Wonderful Flowers”, “*Wuguangyi*”, “Amitabha”, “Incense Burning”, “Ten Grounds”, “Achieving Great Wonder Supreme Music”, “*Jiequ*”, “Mani”, “*Sumi qijutuo*”, “The Rising Sun Light”, “*Xiele*”, “Guanyin”, “Everlasting Peace”, “Ritual Virtues”, “sāla trees”, “Moving Star”, “*Tifan*”, etc. With the Buddhist musical dances participating in the folk shows and the Tang Dynasty temples opening drama stages to the public, there emerged the trend of secularizing the Buddhist music; for instance, the *bianwen* or the popular Buddhist sermon stories came all the more closer to the folks. In this way, the Buddhist music gradually branched into two categories, the ceremonial or temple music and the folk music or tunes. The temple music was categorized into hymns, short verses, mantras, chants, etc., for instance, such hymnal music pieces as “Incense of Precepts, Samadhi, and Wisdom”, “Praise of Incense”, “Praise of Precious Canopy Incense”, “Praise of the Buddha”, etc., with very popular music scores. The famous temple music was found in such places as Beijing Zhi Hua Temple, Mount Wutai, etc. One important branch of Chinese Buddhist music was the Tibetan Buddhist music, popularly known as Lama Sect music, the content of which included Sutra-chanting music, the dance music of Qamo (“Fawu ceremony” or a ceremonial masked dance in Tibet’s monasteries, popularly known as *tiaoshen*, a kind of shaman dance, literally “dance the gods”), temple instrumental music, etc.

Taoist music is called “ceremonial music” or “rites music”, mainly used in the Taoist sacrificial ceremonies with origins from the Nuo sacrificial songs and dancing traditions of the Chu culture. It initiated the traditional practice of “composing songs, music and drum dances to amuse the gods”, with the goals of communicating with gods and warning the people. Having been shaped within the Taoist religion, it began to be popularized to the folks. Taoist music could be traced back at least to the records of “Commandments of the New Ordinances from the Clouds (Yunzhong Yinsong Xinke Zhijie), that is, “Ode to Huaxia”, “Tunes of Pacing the Void”, etc. The early representative of the Taoist musical compositions was “pacing the void” (*buxu*), a Taoist imitation of Buddhist hymns. It was characterized by simultaneous singing and dancing and absorbed elements of court music, aiming to enfold the Taoist conceptions of roaming into the mysterious emptiness and achieving immortality and divinity. Taoist music had a fast development in the Tang Dynasty, and the *Tang huiyao* (“Institutional History of the Tang Dynasty”) recorded the Taoist musical compositions of “Music of Longevity”, “The Taoist Music of Nine Immortals”, “The Imperial Composition of the Three Primes”, “Return to Perfection”, “Great Immortal Palace”, “Pacing the Void”, “Flying Immortals”, “Immortals”, “Immortals of the Highest Luo Heaven”, “Wuwei (Non-Action)”, “Chapters on Cave Spirits”, “Purple Residences of Authenticity Grotto (related to the Taoist concept of vital energy)”, “Over the

Clouds”, “Nature”, “True Immortals”, “Having the Tao”, “Jinhua Authenticity Grotto”, “Jijinhua Authenticity Grotto”, etc. In later times, *Jade Tune Ritual*, a collection of the Song Dynasty Taoist music scores, was handed down to ensuing generations; Ming Dynasty established the “Imperial Music Office”, and the Taoist monk Leng Qian was appointed to be in charge of noble music; in the Qing Dynasty, Taoist music was mingled into the folk traditions, and its sacred space witnessed “musical performance of highest accomplishments, the harmony of music and songs, and the competitions of theatrical performances” (Ye Meng-zhu, *Yueshipain* or Chapters on Experiencing the World); and in the Republican Era, the Taoist monk Hua Yan-jun (A-Bing the Blind) of Wuxi City composed “The Moon Reflected on the Second Springs”, which became a classical piece of Chinese folk music. In terms of sects, the Taoist music was divided into the categories of Zhengyi (Orthodox Unity) and Quanzhen (Perfect Realization). Zhengyi music was represented by the Xuanmiao Taoist Temple in Suzhou and the White Cloud Taoist Temple in Shanghai; and the Quanzhen music was represented by White Cloud Taoist Temple in Beijing and the Mount Wudang in Hubei Province. In addition, ancient Naxi Dongjing Music had close connections and shared historical roots with the Taoist music.

The Chinese Buddhist dance inherited and developed the Indian temple sacrificial rites and forms of singing and dancing. It underwent constant innovations and formed the unique Chinese Buddhist *yuewu* or music-dance, with vivid historical imprints on such Buddhist dancing images as the *feitian* or Flying Apsaras and the folk dances in the Buddhist grotto arts all across China. The modern Buddhist dance is now still circulating among the folks, particularly active among the minority nationalities, for instance, the Dai nationality’s Buddhist dance represented by the Peacock Dance; Bai Nationality’s five popular Buddhist dances of “Lotus Lanterns”, “Bottle Flowers”, “Eight Treasure Flowers” and “Round the Altar”; and the Tibetan nationality’s temple dance “Qiangmu, or ‘sorcerer’s dance’”, termed “Tsam” after its entry into Inner Mongolia or the performance of “Tiaobuzha”(driving ghosts) in Yonghe Lamasery in Beijing. The Taoist dance originated from the exorcist rituals and ceremonies to amuse the gods in the Nuo sacrificial rites of high antiquity, later on developed into the “secret mudras” and “the Paces of Yu” of the Taoist masters, and was fully displayed in the Taoist ritual dance of “bugang tadou” (“pacing the guideline and treading on the stars of the Dipper”). The Taoist dance flourished in the Tang Dynasty, as wonderfully depicted in the poet Bai Ju-yi’s song “Raiment of Rainbows and Feathers”. The contemporary temple fairs also witness traces of the Taoist dance; for instance, the popular Yangge (“Rice Sprout Song”) dance was one of its popularized forms.

The Chinese Islamic music has the Sunni and Sufi heritages, and is fully manifested in the ethnic songs and dances of the contemporary nationalities such as Uygur, Kazak, Kirgiz, Hui, Dongxiang, bao’an, Salar, etc., all with Islamic beliefs. The Islamic “prayer songs” (tunes of chanting and praying), tunes of chanting the sutras, lyrics of hymns, Lamushang tunes (odes for persuading people to fast), Balati tunes (tune of Lailah al-Qadr), etc. are filled with the charms of Islamic music; and the Islamic dances such as the whirling dance have also left traces in the

Chinese Muslim songs and dances, with vivid portrayals. The Chinese Catholic and Protestant music derived from the Christian traditions of chanting the scriptures, singing the hymns and sacred drama. In its localization, it mingled with the traditional Chinese music, generating the Chinese-style devotional songs, hymns, Christmas carols, and musical pieces of God Bless China; for instance, the Chinese Christian musician Yang Yin-liu edited and published *Hymns of Universal Praise*, which included 72 pieces of Chinese Christian music.

Since the Reform and Open policies were carried out, religious music has had a revival, and a large number of musical pieces that reflect the subject matters of religion have come into being. In addition to the musical compositions and performances of the Buddhist, Taoist, Islamic, Catholic and Protestant churches, the musical works with religious themes in the wider secular society include the large-scale song and dance drama *Along The Silk Road* (1979); the genuine ethnic dance musical *Yunnan Impression Show* (also called *Dynamic Yunnan*); the dance *Thousand-handed Bodhisattva Guanyin* (2004); the large-scale legendary dancing opera *Ma Zu* (2004), *Ancient Tang-Tubo Passageway* (2005), the large-scaled Original Song & Dance Opera in Ethnic Dress & Adornment; the large-scaled Yi nationality Song & Dance Opera *The Sun Girl* (2005); the Inner Mongolian Song & Dance Opera *Jangar* (2006); the large-scaled Song & Dance Opera *Brahma's Voice and Dancing Rhythms-The Buddha Light Illuminating All* (2007); the large-scale Song & Dance Opera *Tibetan Mystery* (2007); the large-scale Yunnan ethnic dance musical *Colors of Dance* (2007); the large-scale ethnic dance musical *Blue Sea, Sky Clouds, and Gold-Silver Beach* (2008); Qinghai-Tibetan Plateau Tu Nationality's large-scale dance musical *The Rainbow Clan* (2008); the male solo-dance *The Sun Bird* (2008); the large-scale original dance musical *Clouds-Ridges* (2009); the large-scale dance musical *Heavenly Gate Fox Fairy and the Wood Cutter Liu hai* (2009); the thematic dance musical *Buddha's Seal at Dunhuang* (2010); the Inner Mongolian original ethnic dance musical *Aoluguya* (2010); the large-scale Guizhou Miao nationality dance musical *Yangasha* (2010); the original dance drama *Nv Wa* (2011); the large-scale historical dance musical *Shun the Great* (2011); the large-scale historical dance musical *Gesar* (2011); Kazak nationality's dance musical *Road of Migration* (2011); the Inner Mongolian large-scale ethnic stage performance *Courageous Oroqen* (2011); the Inner Mongolian ethnic dance musical *Hulun Buir Snowfield* (2011); the large-scale Guizhou ethnic musical *Colorful Styles of Guizhou* (2011); Kazak nationality's dance musical *Gudasitan Wulun* (long poem) (2012); the large-scale Multi-media interactive musical *Tibetan Dance and Peking Opera Classics* (2012); the Inner Mongolian large-scale ethnic dance-poetry-painting *Ordos Wedding* (2012); large-scale musical *Princess Wencheng* (2012); the Hui nationality's musical *Flowers Blanketing Mount Tianshan* (2012); the Hui nationality's musical *Flowers* (2012); the large-scale Hui nationality's original musical *Mansur* (2012); the Uygur nationality's large-scale musical *Turpan's Grapes are Ripe* (2012); the large-scale Xishuangbanna's ethnic folk musical *Water, Water, Water* (2012); Lijiang's large-scale ethnic musical *Songs O'er the Colorful Clouds* (2012); Kunming's large-scale ethnic musical *There Is a Beautiful Place* (2012); the Dong nationality's musical *Masquerade*

(2012); the grand ethnic epic musical *Kingdom and Beauty* (2012); the grand original folk musical *The Charm of Brocade* (2012); the grand original Zhuang folk musical *The Hundred Birds' Costume* (2012); the grand Miao folk musical *The Soul of Chiyou* (2012); the grand Kazakh folk musical *households in the Snowfields* (2013); the grand Miao Epic musical *Totem Bird* (2013); the original Chinese dance musical *Marco Polo* (2014); the grand original musical Confucius; etc. The expressions of dance musicals unify the arts of the temporal and the spatial, sometimes co-structuring, to form the exquisite pictures and the flowing music, consummating in superb audio-visual effects. These musicals, though not purely religious musical pieces, bear obviously or covertly elements of religious myths or relevant conceptions, and these elements do provide important spiritual motivations for the composition of such musicals.

In sum, the dual dimensions of sacredness and secularity in Chinese religious arts have been preserved since ancient times. In the contemporary art arena, religious art has been very active. The exhibitions of religious calligraphy and paintings, religious concerts, etc., all add a profound yet fresh gust of breeze to the present art market.

5.4 Religious Architecture and Landscape

There are a large number of religious sites and architecture in China, particularly the Buddhist and Taoist ones. The most famous Chinese Buddhist sites are the Four Sacred Mountains, that is, Mt. Wutai in Shanxi province, Mt. Putuo in Zhejiang province, Mt. Emei in Sichuan province, and Mt. Jiuhua in Anhui province, historically termed “Gold Wutai, Silver Putuo, Bronze Emei and Iron Jiuhua”. Mt Wutai is the first Buddhist sacred site in China, enshrining mainly Bodhisattva Manjusri, who symbolizes wisdom; it is surrounded in the radius of 500 li by five peaks, the tops of which are shaped like terraces of piled up earth, hence the name “wutai” (Five Terrace). There used to be over 300 temples in the history of Mt. Wutai, and now about 40 or so have been preserved, the most renowned being the Five Chan Temples, including Xiantong Temple, Dayaun Temple, Wenshu Temple, Shuxaing Temple and Luohou Temple. The sights of Xiantong Temple include the yellow bronze hall, Pusading, Jing Temple, South Chan Temple, Buddha Light Temple, Guanyin Cave, Dailuoding, etc. Mt. Putuo is the bodhimanda of the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara (Guanyin), known as the great benevolent and the compassionate Bodhisattva who grants deliverance to all sentient beings. It is situated within the Zhoushan Islands on a small island 8.5 km in length, 3.5 km in width, with an area of 13 square kilometers. It is popularly called “Buddha Land amidst the Sea and Sky”. Its historical range used to include three big temples, 88 Chan halls, 128 huts, over 4000 monks and nuns; now Fayu Temple, Puji Temple, etc., are still existent, and in 1997 the open-air Bronze statue of Guanyin of the South Sea was completed. Mt. Emei is the bodhimanda of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra (“Universal Worthy”) who symbolizes the virtues of reason and action; it has a total

of about 30 temples, the well-known ones being Baoguo temple, Fuhu Temple, Qingyin Pavilion, Xianfeng Temple, Pool for Washing the Elephant, Huazang (Avatamsaka) Monastery on the Golden Summit, and Wannian Temple. Giant Buddha Chan Hall or Giant Buddha Temple, rebuilt in 1998 at the foot of the mountain, is the largest temple compound in China today, with the temple proper covering an area of 478 mu, and the surrounding scenic sights covering a total of 1990 mu. The floor area of the Temple amounts to 56, 000 square meters, and the main architectural complex faces the east, with 11 courtyards; enter along the axis line into the mountain gate, and you will find the magnificent Hall for the Peacock King, Maitreya Hall, Earth-Treasure Bodhisattva Hall, Medicine Buddha Hall, Manjusri Hall, Guanyin Hall, Puxian Hall, Mahavira Hall, Sutra Depository, large screen wall, Bright Hill, etc. Mt Jiuhua is the bodhimanda of the Bodhisattva Ksitigarbha (Earth-Treasure), formerly called Mount Lingyang. Being in the shape of a lotus flower, the name was changed into Jiuhua. The Mountain has an area of 334 square kilometers, with 99 peaks, the 9 best known of which being Tiantai, Ten Kings, Lotus, Heavenly Pillars, etc.; it also has famous temples such as Huacheng Temple, Huoyuan Temple, Ganlu Temple, Tiantai Temple, Sandal wood Zen Groves, The Precious Hall of the Bodhisattva Incarnate, Longevity Palace, etc. Legend has it that the Earth Treasure Bodhisattva of great vows had such renowned Buddhist sayings as “I will not attain Buddhahood until the hell is vacated. Only when all sentient beings are saved, will I attain Buddhahood” and “If not me, who will go to hell?”; he was called “Earth Treasure” because he “is patient and generous as the ground and as thoughtful and peaceful as treasure”.

The famous Buddhist temples in China include Guangji Temple, Fayuan Temple, Guanghua Temple, Tongjiao Temple, Zhihua Temple. Wanshou Temple, Fahai Temple, Longfu Temple, Yellow Temple, Yonghe Lamasery, Reclining Buddha Temple, Biyun Temple, Longquan Temple, Tanzhe Temple, Jietai Temple, Peace Temple at Mount Huata, Changle Temple at Mount Jietai, Tusita Temple at Shangfangshan, Yunju Temple at Fangshan, White Water Temple, etc. in Beijing; the Great Compassion Chan Hall, etc. in Tianjin; Jade Buddha Temple, Jing'an Temple, Linghua Temple, Longhua Pagoda, Ciyun Chan Temple (Aloe Wood Pavilion), etc. in Shanghai; Huayan Temple, Arhat temple, etc. in Chongqing City; Shaolin Temple, Great Dharma King Temple, White Horse Temple in Luoyang city, Daxiangguo Temple in Kaifeng city, Sacred Well Temple in Nanzhao, White Cloud Temple in Huixian county, Purple Cloud Temple, Fengxue Temple, Huishan Temple in Dengfeng, Cisheng Temple in Wenxian county, Shengshou Temple in Mount Dazhou, etc. in Henan Province; Eight Outer temples in Chengde (including Puren Temple, Shuxiang Temple, Putuo Zongcheng Temple, Xumi Fushouzhi Temple, Puning Temple, Anyuan Temple, Puyou Temple, and Pule Temple), Bolin temple in Zhaoxian county, Longxing Temple in Zhengding, Linji Temple, Geyuan Temple in Laiyuan, Fuqing Temple in Mount Cangyan, Longquan Temple in Bazhou, Shangjing Vairocana Temple in Shijiazhuang city, etc., in Hebei Province; in Liaoning Province, Yunjie Temple in Phoenix Mountain, Youshun Temple in Chaoyang, Yu Temple in Fuxin, and in Jilin Province, Guanyin Ancient Temple, Huoguo Bore temple, Yongning Temple, Jile Temple in Harbin, Mahayana Temple

in Qiqihaer, Xinglong Temple in Yong'an, etc., in the Northeast China; Guangzong Temple in Mount Helan, Beizi Temple in Xilinhaote, Xingyaun Temple in Kulunqi, Yanfu Temple, Dazhao temple, Xilituzhao Temple, etc., in Inner Mongolia; Chongshan temple in Taiyuan, Ancient Blue Lotus Temple in Jincheng, Zhenguo Temple in Pingyao, Cixiang Temple, Taizi Temple, Xiyan Upper Temple in Mount Zhongtiao, Wangu Temple in Yongji, Longyan Temple in Lingchuan, Longquan Temple in Yangcheng, Xingtang Temple in Mount Huo, Xingfo temple in Mount Lvliang, Gaoping Temple in Chongming, Faxing Temple in Zhangzi, Chongshan Temple in Hunyuan, Huayan Temple in Datong, Xuanzhong Temple, Xuankong temple, etc. in Shanxi Province; Shandong province's Dayun Temple, Lingyan Temple, Xingguo Temple, Qingdao Zhanshan Temple, etc.; Hunan Province's Lushan Temple, Kaifu Temple, Longxing Temple, Pu Guang Temple in Zhangjiajie, Tianmenshan Temple, Yueyang Sheng'an Temple, etc.; Hubei Province's Guiyuan Temple in Wuhan, Tianmen Bailong Temple, Po Tong Temple, Wuzu Temple in Huangmei, Yuquan Temple in Dangyang; Jiangxi Province's Lushan Donglin Temple, Dongshan Puli Temple, Qingyuan Mountain Temple, Jiujiang Nengren Temple, Yongxiu Yunju Temple, Baizhang Temple, etc.; Jiangsu Province's Jinshan Temple in Zhenjiang, Dinghui Temple, Tianning Temple in Changzhou, Hanshan Temple in Suzhou, Jiechuang Temple in Xiyuan, Lingyan Mountain Temple, Xingfu Temple in Changshu, Longchang Temple in Jurong, Qixia Temple in Nanjing, Linggu Temple, Daming Temple in Yangzhou, Gaomin Temple, Guangjiao Temple in Nantong, Xiangfu Chan Temple in Wuxi, Lingshan Giant Buddha, Brahma Palace, etc.; Zhejiang Province's Lingyin Temple, Guoxing Temple in Mount Tiantai, Gaoming Temple, Qitai Temple in Ningbo, Tiantong Temple, Ashoka Temple, Xikou Xuedu Temple in Fenghua, Xinchang Giant Buddha Temple etc.; Anhui Province's Yingjiang Temple in Anqing, Taihu West Wind Chan Temple, Qianyuan Temple in Qianshan, Langjiao Temple in Chuzhou, etc.; Fujian Province's Nanputuo Temple in Xiamen, Fuzhou Earth-Store Temple, West Chan Temple, Yongquan Temple, Hualin Temple, Guanghua Temple in Putian, Minhou Xuefeng Chongsheng Temple, Kaiyuan Temple in Quanzhou, Chengtian Temple, Longshan Temple in Jinjiang, Nanshan Temple in Zhangzhou, Huangboshan Wanfu Temple, Xianyou Sanhui Temple, Nanan Yanfu Temple, Ningde Tuoluoyan Grotto Temple, etc.; Guangdong Province's Nanhua Temple in Shaoguan, Guangxiao Temple in Guangzhou, Liurong Temple, Dinghu Temple in Zhaoqing, Kaiyuan Temple in Chaozhou, Qingyun Temple on Lotus Peak, Yunmen Temple in Ruyuan, etc.; Guangxi Province's Tiandeng Wanfu Temple; Sichuan Province's White Jade Temple, Longxing Temple in Pengzhou City, etc.; Guizhou Province's Qianling Mountain Temple (Hongfu Temple); Yunnan Province's Yuantong Temple in Kunming, Huating Temple, Qiongzhu Temple, Golden Summit Temple on Mount Jizu, Yongjin Temple in Xiushan, Zhilin Temple in Jianshui, Dajue Temple in Luliang, Dadenghan Temple in Ruili, Songzanlin Temple in Diqing, etc.; Shanxi Province's Famen Temple, Ci'en Temple in Xi'an, Daxingshan Temple, Xiangji Temple, Qinglong Temple, Caotang Temple in Lu County, Amitabha Temple and Dharma King Temple in Hancheng, Zhaoren Temple in Changwu, Zhiguo Temple in Yangxian County, etc.; Chengtian Temple in Yinchuan City, Haibaota Temple etc.in

Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region; Nanshan Temple in Sanya City, Hainan Province; Divinely Blessed Lamasery in Zhaosu, Lamasery in Baluntai, Hejing County, Lamasery in Hebukesai County, etc. in Xinjiang Province; Labuleng Temple in Xiahe, Gansu Province; Qinghai Province's Ta'er Temple in Huangzhong, Qutan Temple in Ledu, Dandou Temple in Hualong, Xiaqiong Temple, Aqiong Nanzong Temple in Jianzha County, Youning Temple in Huzhu County, Longwu Temple in Tongren, etc.; Tibet's Jokhang Temple in Lhasa, Xiaozhao Temple, Gandan Monastery, Drepung Monastery, Sera Monastery, Potala Palace, Chupu Temple, Sangpu Temple, Rezhen Temple, Gamalading Temple, Leiwuqi Temple, Changzhu Temple, Yongbulagang Palace, Sangye Temple, Minzhulin Temple, Tashilhunpo Monastery, Natang Temple, Xialu Temple, Sakya Temple, Tuolin Temple, Duoqizha Temple and so on. In addition, there are famous Buddhist sacred sites of Po Lin (Precious Lotus) Monastery, Cimen Nunnery, etc. in Hong Kong; Puji Temple in Macao; Longshan Temple in Lugang, Foguangshan Temple, Zhongtai Chan Temple, Longshan Temple in Mengxia, Kaiyuan Temple in Tainan, Dharma Drum Mountain, Vulture Peak, etc. The Chinese Buddhist grottos are also places to exhibit the Buddhist art, constituting the unique Grotto Art. The more influential grottos include Dunhuang Grottoes, Yungang Grottoes, Longmen Grottoes, Dazu Grottoes, Mount Maiji Grottoes, Shizhongshan Grottoes, Bingling Temple Grottoes, Kizil Grottoes, Xiangtangshan Grottoes, Guangyuan Grottoes and so on.

Famous Chinese Taoist sites are termed "36 Grotto-Heavens" and "72 Blissful Lands". "36 Grotto-Heavens" are the worlds inhabited by immortals hidden within famous mountains and beautiful places. They include Mt Huotong Grotto, East Mt Tai Grotto, Southern Mt Heng Grotto, West Mt Hua Grotto, North Mt Chang Grotto, Central Mt Song Grotto, Mt Emei Grotto, Mt Lu Grotto, Mt Siming Grotto, Mt Guiji Grotto, Mt Taibai Grotto, Western Mountain Grotto, Mt Xiaowei Grotto, Mt Qian Grotto, Mt Guigu Grotto, Mt Wuyi Grotto, Mt Yusi Grotto, Mt Huagai Grotto, Mt Gaizhu Grotto, Mt Duqiao Grotto, Mt Baishi Grotto, Mt Goulou Grotto, Mt Jiuyi Grotto, Mt Dongyang Grotto, Mt Mufu Grotto, Mt Dayou Grotto, Mt Jinting Grotto, Mt Mugu Grotto, Mt Xiandu Grotto, Mt Qingtian Grotto, Mt Zhong Grotto, Mt Liangchang Grotto, Mt Zigai Grotto, Mt Tianmu Grotto, Mt Taoyuan Grotto, and Mt Jinhua Grotto. "72 Blissful Lands" are the sacred abodes of the immortals, including Mt Difei, Mt Gaizhu, Mt Xianke, the Eastern Source of Immortals (Dongxian Yuan), the Western Source of Immortals (Xixian Yuan), Mt Nantian, Mt Yuliu, Mt Qingyu, Yumu Grotto, Danxia Grotto, Sovereign Mountain (Junshan), Daruo Rock, Jiao Source, Numinous Ruins (Lingxu), Wo Islet, Tianmu Ridge, Ruoye Stream, Mt Jinting, Mt Qingyuan, Mt An, Mt Maling, Mt Eyang, the Dongzhen Ruins, Qingyu Altar, Guangtian Altar, Dongling Source, Mt Donggong, Mt Tao, Sanhuang Well, Mt Lanke, Le Stream, Mt. Luohu, Mt Ling, Source of Springs (Quanyuan), Mt Jinjing, Mt Gezao, Mt Shifeng, Mt Xiaoyao, Dongbai Source, Mt Bochi, Mt Lun, Maogong Altar, Mt Jilong, Mt Tongbai, Mt Pingdu, Mt Luluo, Mt Huxi, Mt Zhanglong, Mt Baofu, Mt Damian, Mt Yuanchen, Horse's Hoof Mountain, Mt De, High Stream and Blue Water Mountain, Blue River, Jade Summit, Mt Tianzhu, Mt Shanggu, Zhanggong Grotto, Mt Sima Hui, Mt Changzai,

Mt Zhongtiao, the Grotto of Lake Jiao and Yucheng, Mt Mianzhu, Lu River, Mt Gan, Mt Huang, Mt Jincheng, Cloudy Mountain, Mt Beiman, Mt Lu, and the Eastern Sea Mountain.

The famous Taoist mountains historically included Mt. Tai, Mt. Heng, Mt. Hua, Mt. Song, Mt. Mao, Mt. Juqu, Mt. Qingcheng, Mt. Taigu, Mt. Longhua, Mt. Zhongnan, Mt. Luofu, Mt. Gezhao, Mt. Wudang, Mt. Taihe, Mt. Wuyi, Mt. Heming, Mt. Douchuan, Mt. Lao, etc.; and the famous Taoist temples include Taiqing Gong (Palace of Supreme Purity), Shangqing Gong (Palace of High Purity), White Cloud Taoist Temple, Yongle Gong (Palace of Eternal Joy), Chunyang Gong (Palace of Pure Yang), Wuliang Taoist Temple, Xuanmao Taoist Temple, Chaotoan Gong (Skyward Palace), Jiuxiao Gong (Palace of Nine Heavens), Yuanfu Gong (Primordial Talisman Palace), Everlasting Spring Taoist Temple, Dongxiao Gong (Palace of Cave and Heaven), Tianshifu (Abode of the Celestial Master), Wanshou Gong (Palace of Longevity), Tianzhu Gong (Palace of Heavenly Pillars), Deyun Taoist Temple, Tainyi Zhenqing Gong, Nanyan Stone Palace, Palace of Purple Heaven, Golden Palace, East Mount Tai Taoist Temple, Central Mount Tai Taoist Temple, Fengxian Taoist Temple, Jingliang Taoist Temple, Cave of the Heavenly Master, Qingyang Palace, Louguantai, Guchang Taoist Temple, Jianfu Palace, Purple Clouds Palace, Two-Kings Taoist temple, Chongyang Palace, Palace for Eight Immortals, etc.

Famous Confucian sites include Temple of Heaven, Temple of the Earth, Temple of the Sun, Temple of the Moon, Confucian temples across the country, etc. Famous Chinese mosques include Niujie Mosque, Dongsì Mosque, Songjaing Mosque, Little Peach Garden Mosque, Great Mosque in Tianjin, Dingzhou Mosque, Botou Mosque, Great North Mosque in Cangzhou, Taiyuan Ancient Mosque, South Mosque in Shenyang, Great Mosque in Huhhot, Crane Mosque, Pure Enlightenment Mosque, Sanshanjie Mosque, Authentic Teaching Mosque, Phoenix Mosque, Jiaxing Mosque, Shouxian Mosque, Holy Friends Mosque, Pure Tranquility Mosque, Qilin Mosque in Quanzhou, Great South Mosque in Jinnan, Great North Mosque in Jinnan, Great East Mosque in Jinning, Great West Mosque in Jinning, Shunhe East Mosque, Culture Street Mosque in Kaifeng, Great East Mosque in Kaifeng, Great North Mosque in Zhuxianzhen, Huaisheng Mosque, also known as the Lighthouse Mosque, Lion Mosque, Ximenwai Mosque in Guilin, Imperial City Mosque in Chengdu, Baba Mosque in Langzhou, Jiuzhao Mosque, Baoning Mosque, Great Mosque in Shadian, Yunnan Province, South City Mosque in Kunming, Najiaying Mosque, Huajue Mosque, Great East Mosque, Daxuexi Lane Mosque, Great West Mosque, Xiguan Mosque in Lanzhou, Qiaomenjie Mosque in Lanzhou, Bafang Nanguan Great Mosque in Linxia, Bafang Laohua Mosque in Linxia, Dongguan Mosque in Hui County, Dongguan Mosque in Xining City, Great Mosque in Weizhou, Tongxin Great Mosque, Nanguan Great Mosque in Yinchuan, Ca Shai Te Karl Mosque, Shache Great Mosque, Great Mosque in Taipei, Hong Kong Islamic Mosque Headquarters, Kowloon Mosque, Aiqundao Mosque, etc.; Famous Gonbads include Phoenix Mountain Gonbad, Great Gonbad, etc.; famous mazars (tombs of martyrs) include Afaq Khwadjia Mazar in Kashgar (Abakh Khoja Tomb), Xinjaing Autonomous Region, Exiding Mazar in Kuche, Sultan Satuq

Bughra Khan Mazar in Artux, etc.; also famous are the Sacred Tombs of Mount Lingshan in Quanzhou (Tombs for three Sages and Tombs for Four Sages).

Famous Chinese Christian churches include Southern Cathedral, Northern Cathedral, Eastern Cathedral, Western Cathedral, Chongwenmen Church, and Gangwashi Church in Beijing; Xujiahui Cathedral, Our Lady of Shashan Cathedral, Grace Cathedral, and International Chapel in Shanghai; Our Lady of Victory Church (Wanghailou Church) and Cathedral of St. Joseph (Laoxikai Church) in Tianjin; St Nicolas Church and The Church of the Intercession of the Mother of God in Harbin; Shigulu Catholic Church in Nanjing; Qingdao Catholic Church; Kaifeng Catholic Church; Cathedral of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (also known as the Stone House) in Guangzhou; Peace Bridge Cathedral in Chengdu; etc. Tomb of Matteo Ricci in Beijing, Dafangjing Friars' Cemetery in Hangzhou, Ruins of St. Paul's Cathedral in Macao, etc., are equally famous religious sights.

5.5 Religion, Life-Nourishing and Fitness

Chinese religions emphasize life-nourishing and fitness, and have produced corresponding theories and practice. Such theories of life nourishing combine theoretically the doctrines of the corresponding religions and unify the Tao of living and the transcendental dimension, asserting that life is not an isolated phenomenon, for it does have a close correlation with "The Tao of heaven". "Sheng (life-giving)" is dynamic and not static, and the developing and changing "mutual generation" and "production and reproduction" constitute the nature of the phenomenon of life. "Sheng, as the mysterious wonder of the world, echoes the "mandate of heaven". "All things owe to (Kun) their birth;—it receives obediently the influences of Heaven" (Tuanzhaun of the Kun Hexagram, *I Ching*) and "the great virtue of heaven and earth is called 'life-giving'" (second part of the Great Appendix, *I Ching*). Thus, theoretically and cognitively, the Chinese religions regard "life-giving" as the "great virtue" of heaven and earth. This religious and metaphysical cognition lays a theoretical foundation and a protective guarantee for the religious outlook of China, an outlook characterized by emphasizing life, cherishing life, valuing life and nourishing life. In addition, in the religious theories of nourishing life are also located the struggles against fate, the transcendence over heaven and earth, as well as an emphasis on revering and eulogizing life itself. This transcendence aims at "delights in life" and "abhorrence of death", and culminates in "living happily" and "forgetting death", which is particularly manifested by the Taoist concept of immortality and its practice of Inner Alchemy and Outer Alchemy to achieve longevity and immortality.

With regards to the practical methods in life nourishing, Chinese religions stress combining the Yin and Yang, as well as the dynamic and the static, aiming at harmony and balance. Its fitness techniques include mainly two categories, that is, motion and stillness, as well as the combination and interaction of the two. The category of motion refers mainly to the gymnastic exercise, which gives rise to the

varieties of religious martial arts and the corresponding fitness exercises, the popular ones being the Buddhist “Shaolin Kung Fu”, the Taoist “Wudang Kung Fu”, the varieties of “Qi Gong”, etc. Taiji Quan (a kind of traditional Chinese shadow boxing) and Taiji Sword, the type of Kung Fu that had their origin in religious cultivation, are now popular among the folks, becoming the nationwide fitness exercises. In addition, the Yoga cultivation that came from India also flourished in China after its sinicized reforms and innovations. The motionless health exercises include various Zen meditations or other forms of contemplative practices such as sitting meditation. Mental and physical tranquility leads to one’s connection with the cosmic Qi, and enlightenment and transcendence results in one’s attaining the cosmic realm. Such contemplative practices are popular among many religions, giving rise to the believers’ unique attitudes to life and special ways of dealing with the society. The scope of Chinese life nourishing is broad enough to include both the enclosed cultivation within the religious groups and training camps and programs open to the public, with choices of collective or individual practice. It has thus acquired a wide publicity in today’s society, attracting much participation from the people. In addition, religious life nourishing branches into many categories, each with unique conceptions of a healthy life, as in “The Way of Tea”, “The Way of Incense”, “The Way of Flowers”, “The Way of Wine”, “The Way of Sword”, together with “The Way of Calligraphy and Painting”, “The Way of qin (the guqin, a stringed instrument) and qi (the strategy game of Go).”, “The Way of Mountains and Rivers”, “The Way of Natural Landscapes”, etc., making one carefree, joyous, relaxed and unrestrained. From these recuperative fitness and health practices are derived varieties of “dietary therapy”, “medicinal therapy”, “tea therapy”, “bath therapy”, “massage”, “beauty treatment”, “eye treatment”, “music therapy”, “psychological therapy”, etc., resulting in various exotic combinations of pure religious cultivation and secular health maintenance. For instance, as far as “dietary therapy” is concerned, there are vegetarian food, salt-free diet, medicinal food, taboos, fasts, no-food-after-midday (no untimely meals), Bigu (grain avoidance, a Taoist way of fasting), etc.

Of all the religions in China, Taoism has a special emphasis on nourishing life, and has formed systematic theories and methods of cultivation and health maintenance. The Taoist religion has its own schools of life-nourishing philosophy, with unique magical weapons of health and fitness in each school’s secret collections, yet the co-cultivation based on other techniques and wide learning of others’ strong points are also advocated. The Taoist life-nourishing seeks the “great transformation” of the psyche and the body, expecting people to be aware of the realm in which “the Shen shines on the profound and the minuscule, leading to the bright purity and emptiness; those who ascend to the little obtain wonder and those who keep the vital energy maintain life; reaching the heart is coming to the Tao; perceiving the tranquility leads to perfection; slaving the Shen humiliates the body while securing the essence facilitates prosperity in life span; one reaches the state of agelessness and shines as heaven”.⁹ The Taoists passed down such life-nourishing

⁹Refer to Zhan (2001).

works as *Extracts on Nourishing Spiritual Nature and Prolonging Bodily Life*, authored by Tao Hongjing, a Taoist monk of the State of Liang in the Southern Dynasties. Its two volumes included 6 chapters of “Teachings and Prohibitions”, “Dietary Prohibitions”, “Miscellaneous Prohibitions, Taboos, Rites against Calamity and Prayers for Blessings”, “Ingesting Qi to Cure Illness”, “Daoyin (Guiding and Stretching) and Massage” and “The benefits and dangers of Harem Girls”, explicating the theories and methods of cultivating life, as in “according to Dietary Prohibitions, one cannot have too much for meals and should take a walk after each meal; according to the Miscellaneous Prohibitions, one cannot go to excesses of excitement, anger, sadness or pleasure, for excess brings harm; Ingesting Qi to Cure Illness talks about the art of curing illnesses by circulating the Qi; Guiding-Stretching and Massage can build up the body, prevent and cure illnesses; The benefits and dangers of Harem Girls concerns the ways of cherishing the vital essence as the treasure and the sanitation in the bedchamber”. The secrets of such life nourishing mainly emphasize that “the cultivator considers it of prime importance to know the root, to cherish Qi and preserve the Shen, so that Qi and Shen harmonize with each other and become indispensable to each other; in so doing, longevity could be obtained. Its purport is to cherish the Qi and preserve the vital essence, since there can never be a speedy way to immortality; one should go through constant cultivation and gradual progress, for efforts will naturally lead to success.”¹⁰ Life-nourishing and fitness in this way constitute a major feature of Chinese religions in people’s real life and existence.

5.6 Religious Eco-Civilization

Religious Eco-Civilization expresses a reverence of life and a loving preservation of nature. Chinese religions correlate “life-giving” and “the Tao follows nature (the self-so)”, regarding “nature” as the source of “life-giving”, the mother of the myriads of things, which, in turn, preserve their endless cycles of life and overflowing vigor in nature. Such a perception was manifested in religions of high antiquity, when heaven and earth were regarded as the mother of all things on earth, and certain animals and plants were worshiped as totems. Thus, an aura of holiness was given to nature, and relevant theories could be traced to ancient classics like the *I Ching*. Honoring the laws of nature and maintaining ecological balance accord with the sacred doctrines of religions, which come with two dimensions, that is, sanctification of nature and human beings’ sacred obligations to nature. The doctrines of religious Taoism continued Zhuang Zi’s “heaven and earth as the father and mother of all things” (Chapter Dasheng or Full understanding of Life in *Zhuang Zi*); hence the classic expression of “the Tao follows the self-so” to summarize the mastery of the laws of the universe. Similarly, Buddhism also elevates nature with a

¹⁰Ren (1998).

holy perception, as sensed in “The emerald-green bamboo is just the Dharma-body./ The thriving yellow flowers are nothing but Prajna.”

Chinese religions have a special emphasis on the significance of changing and developing in their outlook on natural ecology, declaring that “Production and reproduction is what is called (the process of) change” (“The Great Treatise I” of *I Ching*). Only in the changing process can the “Production and reproduction” evolve, develop and keep its “unceasing” potency. Nature, in its changes, realizes its “great transformation” with daily renovations and the interaction of Yin and Yang. “There is an intermingling of the genial influences of heaven and earth, and transformation in its various forms abundantly proceeds. There is an intercommunication of seed between male and female, and transformation in its living types proceeds.” (“The Great Treatise II” of *I Ching*) So the meaning of life and the balance of ecology lie in “changes within” and “motions within”. “Changing” is a classic expression of the dialectics of nature. “In the heavens there are the (different) figures there completed, and on the earth there are the (different) bodies there formed. (Corresponding to them) were the changes and transformations exhibited.” (“The Great Treatise I” of *I Ching*) Such transformations escalate successively, all linked with one another, in constant development and impetuses. “the Spiritual from the Dao; and the bodily from the seminal essence. After this all things produced one another from their bodily organisations.” (“Knowledge Rambling in the North” of *Zhuang Zi*) Progress and evolution are seen in the repeating cycles, cyclic returns and the life-death connectivities of nature. “(During the intermingling of the waste and dark chaos,) there ensued a change, and there was breath; another change, and there was the bodily form; another change, and there came birth and life. There is now a change again, and she is dead. The relation between these things is like the procession of the four seasons from spring to autumn, from winter to summer.” (“Prefect Joy” of *Zhuang Zi*).

Respecting nature calls for an egalitarianism of all creatures. Though human beings are the masters of nature, they should still revere nature, care about nature and preserve natural equality and balance. “Human beings, birds, animals and insects share heaven and the earth”, and “they live together between heaven and the earth, hence no difference between them” (*Wuneng Zi* or Master Incapacity). So human beings co-exist with the myriads of things in nature, without being outstanding or unique; hence “Heaven, Earth and I were produced together, and all things and I are one” (“The Equality of Things” of *Zhuang Zi*). Therefore, human beings must act according to the patterns of heaven, respect natural laws, never act arbitrarily or get their own ways; instead, they should locate their position and discern their circumstances in nature, being able to “love and nourish all things without lording it over them, grow them, feed them, develop them, mature them, raise them, restore them, produce them and do not claim them as their own”.¹¹ In addition, on account of such ecological concepts, Chinese religions are constantly exploring and advancing, with further developments that stem from concerns over

¹¹Min (2002).

nature, such as the sanctification of landscapes, animals and plants. In this vein, the preservation of natural balance is elevated to concerns with social ecology, cultural ecology and spiritual ecology.

References

- He, Q. (2013). *Jidujiao yishu zongheng* [Christian art in length and breadth] (pp. 308–309, 321–323). Religious Culture Press.
- Min, Z. (2002). *Records of miscellaneous talks on the Taoist religion* (p. 91). Chinese Academy of Taoism.
- Ren, J. (Ed.). (1998). *Zongjiao dacidian* [Comprehensive dictionary of religion] (p. 946). Shanghai Lexicon Press.
- Shu-Zhuo, J. (2005). *Zongjiao yishulun* [On religious music] (p. 3). Culture and Art Press. In Tain Q. (Ed.). (1997). *Zhongguo zongjiao yinyue* [Chinese religious music] (p. 4). Religious Culture Press.
- Xinping, Z. (1988). *Religion and culture* (pp. 218–219). People's Press.
- Zhan, S. (2001). *Daoyun (9): Jingming lvshanpai yu yangshengzhexue* [The Rhythm of Tao (9): The Lvshan School of Purity and Brightness and the Philosophy of Cultivating Life] (pp. 299–300). China Great Tao Press.
- Zhang, Y. (2000a) *The art of Chinese Buddhism and Taoism* (pp. 23–24). Religious Culture Press.
- Zhang, Y. (2000b). *Chinese Taoist and Buddhism art* (p. 85). Religious Culture Press.

Chapter 6

The Current State of the Chinese Religions

6.1 Guaranteeing Religious Freedom in Accordance with the Chinese Constitution

Religious faith in China is protected by the Constitution. Four Constitutions have been issued consecutively in China ever since the founding of The People's Republic of China. The first version was adopted by the First National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China at its First Session from September 15-18, 1954. This Constitution stipulated that "All citizens of the People's Republic of China have the freedom of religious belief. All citizens of the People's Republic of China, who have reached the age of eighteen, have the right to vote and stand for election, irrespective of their nationality, race, sex, occupation, social origin, religious belief, education, property status, or length of residence." Its second version was adopted on January 17, 1975 by the Fourth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China at its First Session, yet its content was to a great extent influenced by the ultra "left" trend of thought of the "Great Cultural Revolution". On 5 March 1978, the fifth National People's Congress (NPC) adopted at its first session the third version of the Constitution; its content included Chinese citizens' freedom in religious beliefs and their freedom in not believing in any religion and propagating atheism. The fourth version was adopted at the Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress on December 4, 1982, with the date elevated as the Day of National Constitution in 2014. It was amended four times later on respectively at the First Session of the Seventh National People's Congress on April 12, 1988, the First Session of the Eighth National People's Congress on March 29, 1993, the Second Session of the Ninth National People's Congress on March 15, 1999 and the Second Session of the Tenth National People's Congress on March 14, 2004.

The fourth version or the current Constitution has special specifications regarding the protection of Chinese citizens' freedom of religious beliefs. In Article 34 of Chapter II. The Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens is stipulated: "All

citizens of the People's Republic of China who have reached the age of 18 have the right to vote and stand for election, regardless of nationality, race, sex, occupation, family background, religious belief, education, property status, or length of residence, except persons deprived of political rights according to law." The specific legal stipulations regarding religious beliefs are found in Article 36 of Chapter II: "Citizens of the People's Republic of China enjoy freedom of religious belief." "No state organ, public organization or individual may compel citizens to believe in, or not to believe in, any religion; nor may they discriminate against citizens who believe in, or do not believe in, any religion." "The state protects normal religious activities. No one may make use of religion to engage in activities that disrupt public order, impair the health of citizens or interfere with the educational system of the state." "Religious bodies and religious affairs are not subject to any foreign domination."

In addition, other legal provisions or regulations regarding citizens' religious freedom include the following. Article 3 of the Election Law of the People's Republic of China for the National People's Congress and Local People's Congresses at All Levels (adopted at the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress on July 1, 1979) stipulates that "All citizens of the People's Republic of China who have reached the age of 18 shall have the right to vote and stand for election, regardless of ethnic status, race, sex, occupation, family background, religious belief, education, property status or length of residence." Law of the People's Republic of China on the Organization of the People's Courts (also adopted at this Session) stipulates that "In judicial proceedings in the people's courts, the law is applied equally to all citizens, regardless of ethnic status, race, sex, occupation, family background, religious belief education, property status or length of residence. No privilege whatsoever is allowed."

Article 2 of Measures for the Election of Deputies from the Chinese People's Liberation Army to the National People's Congress and Local People's Congresses (adopted at the 19th Meeting of the Standing Committee of the Fifth National People's Congress on June 10, 1981) stipulates that "Regardless of ethnic status, race, sex, occupation, family background, religious belief, education, property status or length of residence, members of the PLA on active duty, workers and staff serving in the PLA, who may or may not be on the payroll of the PLA, as well as officers dependents who have reached the age of 18 and who meet the requirements specified in Article 1, shall have the right to vote and stand for election in the PLA." Law of the People's Republic of China on Regional National Autonomy (Adopted at the Second Session of the Sixth National People's Congress, promulgated by Order No. 13 of the President of the People's Republic of China on May 31, 1984, and effective as of October 1, 1984) stipulates the following. Article 11: "The organs of self-government of national autonomous areas shall guarantee the freedom of religious belief to citizens of the various nationalities." "No state organ, public organization or individual may compel citizens to believe in, or not to believe in, any religion, nor may they discriminate against citizens who believe in, or do not believe in, any religion." "The state shall protect normal religious activities." "No one may make use of religion to engage in activities that disrupt

public order, impair the health of citizens or interfere with the educational system of the state.” “Religious bodies and religious affairs shall not be subject to any foreign domination.” Article 53: “The cadres and masses of the various nationalities must be educated to trust, learn from and help one another and to respect the spoken and written languages, folkways and customs and religious beliefs of one another in a joint effort to safeguard the unification of the country and the unity of all the nationalities.”

Article 2 of Law of the People’s Republic of China on Assemblies, Processions and Demonstrations (adopted at the Tenth Meeting of the Standing Committee of the Seventh National People’s Congress on October 31, 1989) stipulates that “This Law shall apply to assemblies, processions and demonstrations held within the territory of the People’s Republic of China.”

Article 8 of Organic Law of the Urban Residents Committee of the People’s Republic of China (adopted at the 11th meeting of the Standing Committee of the Seventh National People’s Congress on December 26, 1989): Any resident of an residential area who has reached the age of 18 shall have the right to elect and stand for election, regardless of his ethnic status, race, sex, occupation, family background, religious belief, education, property status and length of residence, with the exception of persons who have been deprived of political rights in accordance with the law. Article 12 of Organic Law of the Villagers Committees of the People’s Republic of China (adopted by the Standing Committee of the Ninth National People’s Congress of the People’s Republic of China at its 5th Meeting held on November 4, 1998) also has similar stipulations: “Any villager who has reached the age of 18 shall have the right to elect and stand for election, regardless of his ethnic status, race, sex, occupation, family background, religious belief, education, property status and length of residence, with the exception of persons who have been deprived of political rights in accordance with law.” Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People’s Republic of China (adopted at the Third Session of the Seventh National People’s Congress on April 4, 1990) has the following stipulations. Article 32: “Hong Kong residents shall have freedom of conscience.” “Hong Kong residents shall have freedom of religious belief and freedom to preach and to conduct and participate in religious activities in public.” Article 137: “Schools run by religious organizations may continue to provide religious education, including courses in religion.” Article 141: “The Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region shall not restrict the freedom of religious belief, interfere in the internal affairs of religious organizations or restrict religious activities which do not contravene the laws of the Region. Religious organizations shall, in accordance with law, enjoy the rights to acquire, use, dispose of and inherit property and the right to receive financial assistance. Their previous property rights and interests shall be maintained and protected. Religious organizations may, according to their previous practice, continue to run seminaries and other schools, hospitals and welfare institutions and to provide other social services. Religious organizations and believers in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region may maintain and develop their relations with religious organizations and believers elsewhere. Article 148: “The relationship between non-governmental

organizations in fields such as education, science, technology, culture, art, sports, the professions, medicine and health, labour, social welfare and social work as well as religious organizations in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region and their counterparts on the mainland shall be based on the principles of non-subordination, non-interference and mutual respect.” Article 149: “Non-governmental organizations in fields such as education, science, technology, culture, art, sports, the professions, medicine and health, labour, social welfare and social work as well as religious organizations in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region may maintain and develop relations with their counterparts in foreign countries and regions and with relevant international organizations. They may, as required, use the name “Hong Kong, China” in the relevant activities.”

The Basic Law of the Macao Special Administrative Region of the People’s Republic of China (adopted by the First Session of the Eighth National People’s Congress on March 31, 1993) has the following stipulations. Article 25: All Macao residents shall be equal before the law, and shall be free from discrimination, irrespective of their nationality, descent, sex, race, language, religion, political persuasion or ideological belief, educational level, economic status or social conditions. Article 34: “Macao residents shall have freedom of conscience.” “Macao residents shall have freedom of religious belief and freedom to preach and to conduct and participate in religious activities in public.” Article 128: The Government of the Macao Special Administrative Region, consistent with the principle of religious freedom, shall not interfere in the internal affairs of religious organizations or in the efforts of religious organizations and believers in Macao to maintain and develop relations with their counterparts outside Macao, or restrict religious activities which do not contravene the laws of the Region. Religious organizations may, in accordance with law, run seminaries and other schools, hospitals and welfare institutions and to provide other social services. Schools run by religious organizations may continue to provide religious education, including courses in religion. Religious organizations shall, in accordance with law, enjoy the rights to acquire, use, dispose of and inherit property and the right to receive donations. Their previous property rights and interests shall be protected by law. Article 133: “The relationship between non-governmental organizations in fields such as education, science, technology, culture, news media, publication, sports, recreation, the professions, medicine and health, labor, women, youth, returned overseas nationals, social welfare and social work as well as religious organizations in the Macao Special Administrative Region and their counterparts in other parts of the country shall be based on the principles of non-subordination, non-interference and mutual respect.” Article 134: “Non-governmental organizations in fields such as education, science, technology, culture, news media, publication, sports, recreation, the professions, medicine and health, labor, women, youth, returned overseas nationals, social welfare and social work as well as religious organizations in the Macao Special Administrative Region may maintain and develop relations with their counterparts in foreign countries and regions and with relevant international organizations.” Rooted in the spirit of the Constitution, based on its provisions and included in the relevant basic laws, these stipulations have supreme authority and

thereby influence and determine the provisions of religious freedom within the scope of Civil Law, Economic Law, Administrative Law, Social Law, Criminal Law, etc.¹.

6.2 Government Regulating Religion in Accordance with Law

Although the Constitution's provisions on religious issues are our country's highest legal basis and standards regarding the handling of religious affairs, yet the provisions, as the principle stipulations, are abstract and cannot be directly applicable; therefore, special laws on religion, with basic religious laws or special religious laws to improve China's legal system concerning religious issues, are in great need of being formulated. In so doing, the government can manage religious affairs in accordance with the law, so as to embody the basic spirit of "ruling the country by law and building a socialist country under the rule of law". And prior to all this, it is of manifest importance and necessity that the relevant religious policies by the Chinese Communist Party as the ruling party and the administrative regulations concerning religion should be formulated by the Chinese government.

"Regarding Basic Viewpoints and Fundamental Policies Toward the Religious Question During Our Country's Socialist Period" (or the well-known Document 19) was issued by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on 31 March 1982; it manifested an important breakthrough in theories of religion and the formulation of relevant policies during the new era of China's Reform and Opening. As is specifically pointed out in Chapter VI of the Document, "In order to ensure further normalization of religious activities, the government should hereafter, in accordance with due process of law, consult fully with representatives from the religious sector in order to draw up feasible religious legislation that can be carried out in practice." In connection with it, the State Council issued consecutively relevant administrative rules; moreover, the Religious Affairs Bureau, a department especially in charge of issues regarding religion, also released a series of more specific administration bylaws; People's Congress of provincial and municipal levels or the government also released local rules and government regulations. In this way, the government regulating religions by law was implemented.

Regulations on the Administration of Sites for Religious Activities and Rules for the Implementation of the Provisions on the Administration of Religious Activities of Aliens within the Territory of the People's Republic of China were promulgated by the State Council of the People's Republic of China on January 31, 1994. In addition, Regulation on Religious Affairs was released by the State Council on July 7, 2004, and came into force on March 1, 2005. Regulation on Religious Affairs has been by far the first comprehensive administrative regulation that is relatively

¹Refer to Zhuo (2008a, b).

systematic and detailed in terms of the national management of religious affairs. According to its stipulations, “The religious affairs department of the people’s government at or above the county level shall, in accordance with the law, exercise administration of religious affairs that involve State or public interests” (Article 5); “The establishment, alteration, or cancellation of registration, of a religious body shall be registered in accordance with the provisions of the Regulations on Registration Administration of Associations. The articles of association of a religious body shall comply with the relevant provisions of the Regulations on Registration Administration of Associations. The activities carried out by a religious body in accordance with its articles of association are protected by law.” (Article 6); “A religious body may, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the State, compile and publish reference publications to be circulated within the religious sector. Religious publications for public distribution shall be published in accordance with the relevant provisions of the State on publication administration.” (Article 7); “For the establishment of an institute for religious education, an application shall be made by the national religious body to the religious affairs department of the State Council, or made by the religious body of the province, autonomous region or municipality directly under the Central Government to the religious affairs department of the people’s government of the province, autonomous region or municipality directly under the Central Government of the place where such institute is to be located.” (Article 7); “Collective religious activities of religious citizens shall, in general, be held at registered sites for religious activities (i.e., Buddhist monasteries, Taoist temples, mosques, churches and other fixed premises for religious activities), organized by the sites for religious activities or religious bodies, and presided over by religious personnel or other persons who are qualified under the prescriptions of the religion concerned, and the process of such activities shall be in compliance with religious doctrines and canons.” (Article 7); “For the preparation for establishing a site for religious activities, an application shall be made by a religious body to the religious affairs department of the people’s government at the county level of the place where such site is to be located. A religious body may begin the preparatory work for establishing a site for religious activities only after the application for such establishment is approved.” (Article 13); “Upon approval of preparation for the establishment of a site for religious activities and completion of construction, an application shall be made for registration with the religious affairs department of the people’s government at the county level of the place where such site is located.” (Article 15); “Religious personnel who are determined qualified as such by a religious body and reported for the record to the religious affairs department of the people’s government at or above the county level may engage in professional religious activities. The succession of living Buddhas in Tibetan Buddhism shall be conducted under the guidance of Buddhist bodies and in accordance with the religious rites and rituals and historical conventions, and be reported for approval to the religious affairs department of the people’s government at or above the level of a city divided into districts, or to the people’s government at or above the level of a city divided into districts. With respect to Catholic bishops, the matter shall be

reported for the record by the national religious body of the Catholic Church to the religious affairs department of the State Council.”(Article 27); “The land legally used by a religious body or a site for religious activities, the houses, structures and facilities legally owned or used by such body or site, and its other legal property and proceeds thereof, are protected by law.” (Article 30) “A religious body or a site for religious activities may operate public undertakings according to law, and the proceeds and other lawful income therefrom shall be subject to financial and accounting management, and be used for the activities that are commensurate with the purpose of the religious body or the site for religious activities, or for public undertakings.” (Article 34); “A religious body or a site for religious activities shall report to the religious affairs department of the people’s government at or above the county level of the place where it is located on its income and expenditure, and on the acceptance and use of donations as well, and, in an appropriate way, make such information public to religious citizens.” (Article 36); “Where a site for religious activities is established without approval, or a site originally for religious activities continues to carry out religious activities after its registration as such has been canceled, or an institute for religious education is established without approval, the religious affairs department shall ban such site or institute and confiscate the illegal gains; the illegal houses or structures, if any, shall be disposed of by the competent construction department according to law. If any act in violation of public security administration is committed, an administrative penalty for public security shall be imposed according to law.” (Article 43); Where anyone refuses to accept a specific administrative act taken by the religious affairs department, it may apply for administrative reconsideration according to law; if it refuses to accept the decision of the administrative reconsideration, it may institute an administrative lawsuit according to law. In this way, government of different levels can, according to law, effectively protect the lawful and punish the unlawful in managing the religious affairs.

Besides, both before and after the formulation of the national Regulation on Religious Affairs, provinces and municipalities also, in accordance with respective local circumstances, formulated provincial local regulations and government rules and regulations to manage religious affairs, so as to bring top-down management and local management to maximum advantage. These local rules and regulations concerning management of religions include the earliest Administrative regulations of Guangdong Province on the Administration of Religious Activities in 1988, Provisional Regulations of Gansu Province on the Administration of Religious Activities (enforced on November 16, 1991), Provisional Regulations of Fujian Province on the Administration of Sites for Religious Activities (enforced on September 11, 1992), Regulations of Qinghai Province on the Administration of Sites for Religious Activities and Regulations of Qinghai Province on Religious Personnel (enforced on October 1, 1992), Regulations of Tianjin Municipality on the Administration of Sites for Religious Activities (enforced on February 21, 1992), Provisional Regulations of Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region on the Administration of Sites for Religious Activities (enforced on March 22, 1994), Provisional Regulations of Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region on the Administration

of Sites for Religious Activities (enforced on June 7, 1994), Provisional Regulations of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region on the Administration of Sites for Religious Activities (enforced on October 1, 1994), Implementation Measures of Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region on the Administration of Sites for Religious Activities (enforced on January 23, 1994), Regulations of Xinjiang Uygur Heilongjiang Province on Religious Affairs (enforced on July 1, 1997), Regulation Measures of Tianjin Municipality on Activities of Religious Personnel (enforced on October 9, 1994), Regulation on Religious Affairs of Hainan Province (enforced on October 22, 1997), Regulation on Religious Affairs of Yunnan Province (enforced on January 1, 1998), Regulation on Religious Affairs of Jilin Province (enforced on May 1, 1998), Regulation on Religious Affairs of Guangdong Province (enforced on June 30, 2000), Regulation on Religious Affairs of Shanxi Province (enforced on September 23, 2000), Regulation on Religious Affairs of Guizhou Province (enforced on November 1, 2000), Regulation on Religious Affairs of Hubei Province (enforced on April 1, 2001), Regulation on Religious Affairs of Jiangsu Province (enforced on June 1, 2002), Regulation on Religious Affairs of Hebei Province (enforced on September 1, 2003), Regulation on Religious Affairs of Shandong Province (enforced on October 2, 2004), Regulation on Religious Affairs of Shanghai Municipality (revised and enforced on April 21, 2005), Regulation on Religious Affairs of Shanxi Province (enforced on October 1, 2005), Regulation on Religious Affairs of Henan Province (enforced on January 1, 2006), Regulation on Religious Affairs of Zhejiang Province (enforced on June 1, 2006), Regulation on Religious Affairs of Beijing Municipality (revised and enforced on July 28, 2006), Regulation on Religious Affairs of Sichuan Province (revised and enforced on November 30, 2006), Regulation on Religious Affairs of Liaoning Province (revised and enforced on December 1, 2006), Regulation on Religious Affairs of Chongqing Municipality (revised and enforced on December 1, 2006), Regulation on Religious Affairs of Hunan Province (enforced on July 1, 2007), Regulation on Religious Affairs of Tibet Autonomous Region (with trial implementation on January 1, 2007), Regulation on Religious Affairs of Anhui Province (revised and enforced on February 28, 2007), Regulation on Religious Affairs of Jiangxi Province (revised and enforced on July 7, 2007).²

The purpose of formulating the central government and local administrative regulations is to effectively protect Chinese citizens' freedom of religious belief in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution; in so doing, the government departments concerned can communicate timely with religious organizations, act according to the law, and establish a harmonious state-church relationship, so that the progress of the national "democracy and the rule of law" could be adequately manifested. With the ongoing perfection of these government administrative regulations, China's management of religious affairs would be more scientific, transparent and equitable.

²Refer to Zhuo (2008a, b).

6.3 Guiding Religions in Social Adaptation

Having undergone a long historical process of indigenization in the Chinese society, all religions had accumulated much experience and had many lessons to learn. Ever since the Open and Reform, China has maintained a basic attitude of guiding all religions to adapt to the Chinese socialist society. In 1990, The CCP Central Committee's Circular on the Reinforcement of the United Front Work for the first time explicitly pointed out "that the patriotic religious organizations and personnel should be guided to combine the love of the religion and the love of the country, that religious activities should be channeled into the realm sanctioned by the Constitution and the law so as to achieve their harmony with the socialist system."³ The major concern shifted to the adaptation of religion to socialism, rather than emphasizing the opposition of religion to the society or the passive avoidance of the society on the part of religion. This awareness of guiding religion to adapt to the society has gradually become a major understanding that religion does concern the society. In 1991, State Council and Central Committee Regarding Some Problems Concerning Further Improving Work on Religion once again required that "all Party and levels of government, together with all strata of the society should be mobilized to further stress, concern and effectively manage the work of religion, making it adapt to the socialist society."⁴

The 2001 National Work Conference on Religious Affairs analyzed and discussed further the development of Chinese religions, securing a new step toward the working guideline of the work of religion and the formulation of religious policies. The conference set up the preliminary guidelines of the Communist Party's work of religion, and was confirmed by the Report at 16th Party Congress (2002) in the form of "four sentences", that is, "implementing thoroughly the Party's policy of religious freedom; managing religious affairs in accordance with the law; encouraging the adaptability of religions to the socialist society; and upholding the principle of self-administration and running religious affairs independently." Since then, "the adaptability of religions" and "positive guidance" is organically integrated, forming an inner logical association. Religions are aware of their adaptability to the contemporary Chinese socialist society; meanwhile, the government and the Party should exert positive guidance to them. Such "positive guidance" not only continues the earlier principle of "being united politically and showing respect mutually" with religions, but also further emphasizes "expounding religions in accordance with social progress". Based on this understanding, the Chinese religions may well, in adapting to the requirement of the time, integrate organically with China's socialist society. In sum, this "positive guidance" leads to the overall channeling of religion in Chinese politics, society, law, culture, ideology, the spiritual realm, etc.

³Selected Literature on Religious Work in the New Age, Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 1995, p. 178.

⁴Ibid., p. 220.

6.4 Activating the Positive Roles of Religion

The ultimate goal in guiding religions to adapt to the Chinese socialist society is for the active role of religions in today's construction of a harmonious society through the correct understanding and treatment of religions. The Seventeenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China improved the basic policies of the Communist Party concerning religious affairs by formulating a precise expression, that is, "We will implement the Party's policy toward the freedom of religious belief, handle religious affairs according to law, encourage the adaptability of religions to the socialist society and uphold the principle of self-administration and running religious affairs independently." And to implement the Party's basic policies toward religions is to encourage the positive roles of the religious sector and religious believers and their effective participation in and contribution to the harmonious society. Bringing the active role of religions into full play can actually harmonize religions with the socialist society, exerting and actualizing, to the greatest degree, the positive social roles of religions, and their positive energies and functions. According to its inherent features, religion has functions of social integration, services, control, psychological adjustment, cultural exchanges, etc. These functions, as a double-edged sword, can either help accomplish positive results when properly handled, or incur negative consequences due to administrative faults or deviation in orientations. In this aspect, it is vital to have correct policies and strategies. The positive role of religion needs active guidance that includes an objective and correct understanding and evaluation of religion, adhering to the scientific outlook on development, sticking to the excellent traditions of the United Front, persisting in the mass line, completing the mass work carefully thoroughly, upholding the ideologies of a harmonious society, facilitating the harmony among different religions, and guiding the harmony of society and religions. Therefore, it is necessary not only to "expound religious doctrines in accordance with social progress," but also to locate the "positive content" in the religious doctrines, religious morals and values; hence the need to "promulgate such positive contents as upholding the good and containing the evil, maintaining equality and tolerance, etc., which come close to the requirements of the socialist society. No more viewing religion negatively is an important factor in rendering the active role of religion into full play.

Chinese Communist Party's 18th National Congress restated the "complete implementation of the Party's basic policies for its work related to religion, rendering into full play the active role of religious personnel and believers of the masses in facilitating economic development," emphasizing the advancement of the Five Major Relations (political parties, religions, social strata, and Chinese both home and abroad) as the important formula for "achieving new victories of socialism with Chinese features". And in promulgating the core values of socialism and its measures "connected to popular interests" that absorb the excellent traditional culture of China, there should also be the affirmation and promotion of the outstanding Chinese religious culture. With such understanding and guidance, the

religious sector finds it easier to liberate their thoughts, get rid of burdens, adapt to and harmonize with contemporary Chinese socialist society more self-consciously and actively.

6.5 Developing Religious Charities and Public Welfare

In 2012, the Religious Affairs Bureau, in conjunction with The United Front Work Department of CPC Central Committee, National Development and Reform Commission, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Civil Affairs, and State Administration of Taxation, issued Opinions on Encouraging and Regulating the Public Welfare and Charities of the Religious Sector, manifesting the government's advocacy and support of the religious sector's undertaking of charities and public welfare, proclaiming that as long as the charities and social welfare organizations set up by the religious sector are in accordance with the law and the national policies, they may enjoy the preferential tax treatment and the government subsidies.

The Opinions regulated the scope of charities and public welfare of the contemporary Chinese religious sector, encouraging activities and functions of the religious sector within realms in which they can make best avail of their strengths and actualize their values. The religious sector's non-profit activities supported by the government include disaster relief, educational donations, medical service, environmental protection, public infrastructure, together with all other public welfare activities that are permitted by law and government policies and can avail religious personnel and believers of their positive roles in society.

The issuance of Opinions on Encouraging and Regulating the Public Welfare and Charities of the Religious Sector is vital for the active participation of the religious sector in public welfare and charities and their contribution to contemporary Chinese society in a new manner. In an era of pluralist social development and transition, the circumstances are becoming ripe for the religious sector to expand their participation and function in serving the society and carrying out charities and public welfare. Volunteers of the religious sector actively participated in the rescue, donation and service during the May 12 Wenchuan earthquake in 2008, which impressed greatly the people and media. The Opinions apparently could help the religious sector in terms of their greater participation and role in social service and public welfare, meanwhile facilitating their regulated, systematized and normalized development.

The religious sector is fruitful and experienced in charities, social support and public welfare and has turned out a large number of well trained personnel skilled in social work. On the other hand, there is still in China a large gap in social service and public welfare, and the people do need a lot, yet the government organizations at all levels at their best cannot cater to everything. In view of this, discovering and using the resources and experience of religion in social service and public welfare not only carries forward the positive role of religion, but also lessens the burdens of government in social work, which constitutes a win-win in the sound development

of society and the achievement of harmony on the part of both the government and the religious sector.

Such religious charities lead the public to gradually view the social “issues” and relevant “functions” of religious in a scientific and just way; in so doing, the positive role of religion in the socialist society can be implemented with active guidance; the trust and confidence of the religious sector toward the society and political orientation can be generated; the “public confidence” can be facilitated and established in depth and breadth; and, with the mentality of being the masters, the religious sector may devote itself totally to socialism and the public welfare it is especially skilled in.

The issuance of Opinions on Encouraging and Regulating the Public Welfare and Charities of the Religious Sector provides legal assurance for the religious sector to undertake charities and public welfare. It also furnishes conditions for the legal administration of religious groups as social organizations and the religious charity undertakings as social activities, laying a solid foundation for the adequate and complete drafting of relevant laws in the future. In the social service and public welfare activities of the religious sector with on-profit purposes, the relevant government departments provide convenient and preferential treatment such as tax exemption, tax reduction, loans, use of land, etc., in the form of formally issued government documents, which adequately demonstrates the government’s active support and enthusiastic encouragement of the religious charities. Under the supervision, participation and support of the government, especially with the issuance and implementation of relevant regulations, the Chinese religious social service and public charities have entered a new stage and are embracing their heyday of development.

6.6 Facilitating the Construction of Religious Culture

The 1980s witnessed the emerging ideological trend of “religion as culture” or “religion is culture”. Viewing and treating religion from a cultural perspective is an important breakthrough in the development of modern Chinese history. This notion seems inconceivable, but it does reflect the tortuous course of understanding contemporary Chinese religion. In the history of less than a hundred years of the 20th century, the Chinese society underwent two major cultural movements, the New Culture Movement at the beginning of the 20th century and the “Great Cultural Revolution” in the 1960s. Though strikingly different in nature, the two movements were in complete agreement in opposing and negating religion, with an “unprecedented” scale and depth. “The New Culture” movement incurred “the Anti-Christian Movement” and the “Anti-Religion Movement”, asserting that China historically had no religion that the Chinese people did not need religion, and that religion was inconsistent with Chinese culture. Such perception had a long and wide circulation, making many people view religion negatively, believe that China was a country “without religion” and think that religion and cultural development

went in a diametrically opposite direction. This attitude to religion circulated for about a hundred years, resulting in a long time misunderstanding of religion in the Chinese society. The Great Cultural Revolution, beginning at the latter half of the 20th century, had a complete negation of religion with a purpose of completely overthrowing and destroying it. This negation of religion, far from saving the Chinese culture, sent it into crisis and a disastrous destruction. Until between the end of the 20th century and the start of the 21st, the Chinese began to reflect upon the great calamity brought upon the Chinese culture by the Cultural Revolution, and having recalled the past pain, began to reexamine the cultural significance and existence of religion, coming to a realization that religion had never been absent in the Chinese culture and that the construction of religious culture was indispensable to the contemporary revival of Chinese culture.

China, as the largest country in Asia and an ancient country with long standing civilization, ought to have a square view of China's religious existence and development and perceive the cultural value of religion and its contribution to Chinese culture. As the cradle of the world's major religions, Asia has roots for all the still existing, active and influential religions, and in view of China's significant place in Asian's culture and spiritual life, we cannot treat the existence and influence of Chinese religions in the lens of historical nihilism. Therefore, "without examination of religious culture, our cultural strategies will be empty and weak; without a normal attitude to religion, it is difficult for our mentality to be normal; without a harmonious treatment of religion, our social harmony will never be actually achieved."⁵ Particularly in the international soft power competition, if we negate our religious culture and ignore the construction of it, we would be doomed to be self-defeated and self-eliminated. Therefore, in the cultural construction of the Chinese society today and in the efforts to facilitate the great development and prosperity of Chinese culture, emphasis should be given to religious culture and its positive construction. In the implementation of the socialist core values, the progress and harmony of the society, the endeavors to realize the China dream, and the construction of the Silk Road Economic Belt and the Sea Route Silk Road, the construction of religious culture is of great importance and indispensability. Regarding this significance, facilitating the religious culture construction and achieving the timely reform and development of Chinese religions comprise a heightened sense of responsibility for the Chinese society, the Chinese people and the Chinese culture, constituting an important era of opportunity for us to seize the good times, follow the favorable trend of the age, embrace the gorgeous turn of China's international standing, and rekindle the brilliance of China's image.

⁵Zhuo (2013).

6.7 Promoting Friendly Exchange Between Religions

Chinese religions are embedded with cultural implications, reflecting the core values of the Chinese spiritual life, and adequately representing the long-standing history and tradition of the Chinese culture. Chinese culture, without traditions, would seem inadequate and insubstantial. The “Going-out Strategy” of the Chinese Culture, without the going-out of the Chinese religious culture, would, too, seem powerless and superficial. In terms of faithfully abiding by the Chinese cultural tradition, the typical representation of the excellence in traditional Chinese culture should be attributed to Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism. In today’s China, the Confucian religion seems to have no foothold, and the image of Confucius is still in contention and debates. In 2014, nearly a thousand scholars walked into the Great Hall of the People for the Commemoration of the 2,565th Anniversary of Confucius’ Birth. President Xi Jinping attended the conference and delivered an important speech, foreboding an important transition in the understanding and evaluation of Confucius. Confucius, philosophical or religious, is a classic expression of the soul of the Chinese national spirit. The Taoist religion pursues the detachment of China’s Tao, connotating the practice of Tao and the theories of expressing Tao to manifest the religious realm and temperament of inquiring about the Tao, being enlightened by the Tao and cultivating the Tao. This spiritual persistence, backed up by the richness of the Tao culture, could contribute to the realization of the “China Dream” characterized by “the global permeation of the Tao”. Buddhism on the other hand embodies the all-embracing and revolutionary bent of the Chinese culture, leading us to see the new birth as the phoenix undergoing nirvana; such absorption and inclusion greatly enriches the content of the Chinese culture.

Most religions in China today have international connections and are organically co-structured with world religions. Of what’s usually known as the five religions in China today, all, except Taoism, spread to China from other countries. The merging of these religions into Chinese culture also enriched it, and it is the introduction of these religions that gave the world the Silk Road on land and the Maritime Silk Road, bustling with voices and excitement, and witnessing the west spreading of China’s “nature religions”, the China Fever in the Euro-American world, and the flourishing of overseas sinology. In a historical retrospect, the Chinese religions can be said to be a messenger of peace and a bridge of communication, playing a pivotal role in the communication and connection between China and the world. Therefore, the going-out of China’s religious culture and promoting the friendly exchange of religions entailed a lot of advantages and conveniences, all calling for our careful preparation and courageous implementation. In the international cultural exchange, we can clearly map out the correlation and continuity between Protestantism, Catholicism and the Western culture; the connective and co-structuring mechanism of Islam toward Arabia-Persian culture and Southeast Asian culture; and the facilitating and harmonious role of Buddhism in the cooperation between countries such as India, Nepal, Myanmar, Sri-Lanka, Japan, etc. In

its long development, Chinese Taoism also took on a unique international bent, having an active role of China promoting the Tao and the Tao nourishing the world.

The Confucian religion used to contact, collide, clash and merge with Western religions; its ideological spirit and ethical virtues also used to charm the West. Western missionaries came to China to preach, ending up with more Confucian ideas back home. The reason that the Jesuits could expand the cultures of the East and the West and pave their way to inaugurating international sinology is none other than the fact that they communicated with and had a deep understanding of Confucianism. To avoid conflicts with Chinese religions, Matteo Ricci and others claimed that Confucianism was not a religion so as to persuade the Chinese elite intellectuals to accept Catholicism while retaining their own faith traditions. This tactic worked best with the scholar-bureaucrats open-minded with Chinese culture, but was seen through among the Western missionaries themselves, resulting in the “Chinese rites controversy” and destruction to both sides. Today, the world’s reverence for Confucianism, including a reminiscence of its religious realm, represents an age-long echo of this sound of history.

Taoism used to inspire and attract the world with its status as the Tao of China. In the 18th century, the French Figurists began to be enlightened by the *I Ching* and the *Tao Te Ching*. Since the 20th century, Joseph Needham, Hideki Yukawa and others had marveled at the transcendence and the romance expressed in the Tao. Heidegger compared Tao to Being, correlating it to the Greek Logos and his own conception of Ereignis; with his years of experience, Heidegger, through “the poeticized thoughts of Laotse”, perceived the torrential and slimmish Tao of joyfulness, thereby initiating, expounding and practising the Tao in the manner of his existential ontology. The influence of the Tao on the world could lead to the “Tao linking the world” and “Tao transforming the world”, with “Tao existing across the world”. Buddhism, with its connection and communication of Indian and Chinese cultures to achieve constant innovation and transcendence, moved the people deeply and gained their admiration. After its entry into China to have its life renewed and rejuvenated, it started to reward the world with the benefits of Chan meditation in achieving quietude, making one far from a restless heart and a bundle of anxieties. In a similar vein, the foreign religions of Protestantism, Catholicism and Islam, having undergone a sinicization of cultural clothing and cultural assimilation, completed its transition and restructuring and won the world’s admiration with its new looks.

After the implementation of the Reform and Open policy, Chinese religions became very active on the international stage. China’s Buddhist sector organized the World Buddhist Forum, attempting to promote “a harmonious world” that “starts from the heart”, characterized by “harmony of diverse conditioned existences” and “common vows and practices”. The Taoist sector organized the *Tao Te Ching* Forum and Taoism Forum with themes of “communicating through the Tao” and “revering the Tao and honoring virtues”. The Chinese folk religions, well before the implementation of the Three Direct Links policy, hand employed the “Cult of Mazu” to link people across the strait. In addition, the Nishan World Civilization Forum, the Taihu World Culture Forum, etc. witnessed the active,

dynamic participation of Christianity, Islam and other religions, embodying the manner and sincerity of inter-religious dialogues. The active participation and activities of Chinese religions on the international stage lent liveliness to the images of “Culture China” and “Faith China”, from which the world’s people perceived the distillation and pith of Chinese culture. “China Wind” and “China Heat” swept across the world, leaving a China Complex to a lot of people. In sum, promoting the exchange of religious culture is an effective push for the “Tao of China” to go across the globe.

References

- Zhuo, X. (2008a). *Globalized religion and contemporary China* (pp. 161–167). Social Sciences Academic Press.
- Zhuo, X. (2008b). *Globalized religion and contemporary China* (pp. 169–173). Social Sciences Academic Press.
- Zhuo, X. (2013). *China’s religions and cultural strategies* (pp. 201–202). Social Sciences Academic Press.

Chapter 7

Concluding Remarks

From the above mentioned, we see that China has abundant resources of religious culture and a religious history with a distant origin and a long development. Religious life has a daily basis in China and the Chinese people have a colorful and extensive diversity of a multi-dimensional religious faith. We should have an attitude of reverence to the religious faith of the Chinese people, treating it correctly. These religious beliefs are part of the precious legacies of the Chinese spiritual life and are important symbols for understanding Chinese culture. We should never negate the religious existence of the Chinese nation without concern for the historical facts, and the Chinese people's faith does merit an extensive and comprehensive understanding. As an active member of the world community of nations, the Chinese share the human spiritual pursuit and contemplative mentality, securing the Chinese a consensus and co-existence in the ranks of the advanced nations in the world. If the Chinese spiritual life is separated from the human spiritual life with an emphasis on the absence of religions and faiths, it amounts to the self-destruction of the Chinese Great Wall; we should thus have effective prevention and absolute opposition against it.

Admittedly, people may have different understandings and definitions of religion; however, the basic features and commonalities of religious faith are measurable and expressible. The Chinese religions have doctrines different from all other religions, and their characteristics and essence deserve further study and research. The perception and interpretation of Chinese religions involve the understanding and evaluation of traditional Chinese culture, and a multi-faceted and multi-dimensional lens should be especially applied to the Chinese faith. On the basis of a correct understanding of religion, we should treat nicely the Chinese religions, respect the Chinese faiths, and actively guide the large number of believers to participate in the construction and development of the socialist China. Faith China is closely related to the development of Culture China, and the Chinese do need faith; here we should not equate "Faith China" with "Religion China", yet we must face squarely and evaluate fairly the existence of Chinese religions. Regarding religious faith as a normal phenomenon in the Chinese society and a

justifiable need of the Chinese people is a manifestation of the currently growing cultural enlightenment and social progress.

Religions should adapt themselves to the socialist society, and the adaptation includes the religious sector's love of the country, observance of the law, advocacy of the CPC leadership and the socialist system, abeyance of the government's legal administration, religious activities within the legally defined realms, more charities in the society, the dissolution of conflicts, the promotion of harmony, and the consolidation of religious theories in the aspect of doctrines; religions should be directed toward national unity, ethnic solidarity, social stability and world peace and harmony; the religious virtues and culture should be actively engaged in the popularity of the socialist core values to benefit the prosperity of the Chinese culture, the timely realization of the "China Dream", the formulation of China awareness, the embodiment of Chinese characteristics, following the path of Sinicization, etc. Without doubt, the adaptation of the religious sector must depend on the active guidance of the Chinese Communist Party and people's government. Religions and the religious sector should be given correct, objective and positive evaluations so as to achieve benign mutual interactions and mutual efforts. As was explicitly pointed out by Premier Li Keqiang in the *Annual Government Work Report* at the Third Session of the 12th National People's Congress on March 5, 2015, "we will fully implement the Party's basic policy on religion, promote harmonious relations between religions, protect the legitimate rights and interests of the religious community, and ensure that religious leaders and believers play a positive role in promoting economic and social development." This important statement reveals Chinese government's affirmation of religion, concern for the believers, and guidance of the positive roles of religion, delineating the direction of the work of religion in the future, and setting up a broad road for the harmony between religion and the Chinese society.

At the end of February, 2015 when President Xi Jinping met representatives of the Fourth National Competition of Most Civilized Cities, Towns, Villages, and Units, he proclaimed the inspiring slogan: "People have faith; the nation has hope; and the country has power"; it has great significance in guiding us to correctly understand faith, evaluate faith and promote faith. Faith is an inherent spiritual power for the development of a nation, and an internal motivating power for a country's prosperity and sustainable development. Therefore, we must have a correct view of our own religious faith, making it contribute positively to our social development, national revitalization and harmony among the people.

Index

A

Abdullah, Khawāja, 172
 Abeel, David, 199
 Abhiseca, 150
 Aibuqa, 185
 Ai Qing, 218
 Alawusi, 184
 Albazinians, 197
 Aleni, Giulio, 227
 al—Kubrawiyyah, 172, 174
 Allah, 167, 169, 172–174, 177
 All-Under-Heaven, ix, 3–5, 8, 17, 32, 40, 50, 80, 95
 Alopen, 178–181
 American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), 199, 203
 Amoghavajra, 146
 Ānanda, 162
 Ancestral sacrifices, 15, 65, 101, 212
 Ancestral worship, 22, 26, 36, 40, 48, 65, 192
 Ancient Tea-Horse Road, The, 146
 Andrew, 190
 Ang, Yuan, 17
 Anglican church, 202, 203
 Animism, 44
 An Qing, 107, 133
 An–Shi rebellion or An–Shi disturbances, 127, 158
 Anti-Christian Movement, The, 203, 254
 Anti-Religion Movement, The, 254
 Arhat, 131, 156, 217, 219, 220, 222, 233
 Atiśa, 149, 150
 Authentic Great Way, The, 85

B

Bahá’i Faith, The, 13
 Bai, Li, 215
 Bai, Yuchan, 83, 86, 110
 Bai,Zhan, 114

Baizhuang School, 147
 Bangbi, Ling, 116
 Bang, Liu, 62, 65
 Baoqian, Xu, 204
 Baptist Churches, 200, 202, 203
 Baraq, 162
 Barbarian guests, 3, 10, 11, 50, 54, 158, 163, 190
 Batu, 162, 187
 Benwu Sect, 137
 Benzhai, Ma, 176
 Berke, 162
 Biao, Chen, 117
 Bin, Li, 110
 Bisheng, Zhu, 218
 Bishop Gregory Luo Wen-zao, 192
 Biyun, Liu, 86
 Black Mount Sect, The, 171
 Black Sect, The, 127
 Bodhidharma, 110, 133, 143–145
 Bodhidharma Sect, 110, 143–145
 Bodhisattva, 38, 110, 138, 141, 142, 148, 155, 156, 221, 222, 231–233
 Boduan, Zhang, 83, 86
 Bön, 26, 125, 150, 151
 Bön religion, 26, 125, 135, 148
 Boone, William Jones, 200
 Boxer Uprising, 201
 Boyaohe, 185
 Bridgman, Elijah Coleman, 199
 British and Foreign Bible Society, 200
 Brown, 200
 Buddha, 17, 19, 27, 79, 99, 100, 102, 104–108, 110–112, 119, 126, 128, 133, 136–138, 140, 141, 144–146, 148–152, 154–156, 162, 187, 219–222, 228, 229, 231–234, 248
 Buddha, Amitabha, 102, 105, 140, 152, 155
 Buddha, Medicine, 112, 155, 229, 233

Buddha-mind sect, 102
 Buddha of the great sun, 156
 Buddhas of the three times, 127
 Buddhism for Human Life, 154
 Buddhist cults, 111, 134
 Buddhist Persecutions by the Three
 [Emperors], The, 149
 Bu'er, Sun, 85

C

Cai Yin, 133
 Candiduis, George, 198
 Can, Kun, 220
 Can, Seng, 144
 Cao Buxing, 219
 Cao, Cao, 134, 228
 Cao Hongxun, 178
 Cao Shengjie, 206
 Caoxi school, the, 145
 Capra, 96
 Catholic action, 193, 195
 Catholicism, 26, 28, 58, 177, 182–184,
 187–195, 200, 257
 Cessation and observation, 137, 154
 Chan Buddhism, 99, 103, 143–145, 152
 Changyue, Wang, 87
 Chan meditation, 143, 152
 Cheng Brothers, The, 73
 Cheng'en, Wu, 139
 Chenggong, Zheng, 101, 198
 Chengguan, 134
 Chengguangzi, 134
 China's Rites Controversy, 29, 192, 257
 Chinese Buddhism, 19, 133, 135–137, 143,
 146, 151–155
 Chinese For Christ, 18, 28, 183
 Chinese Language Buddhism, 135
 Chinese religions of fasting, The, 60, 120
 Chiyu, 51, 232
 Chögyal Phagpa, Drogön, 150
 Chongdai, Yue, 87
 Chongyang, Wang, 85, 86
 Christianity, 13, 26, 28, 29, 97, 98, 106, 122,
 125, 153, 161, 162, 177, 181–183, 187,
 197–206, 217, 227
 Christian religion, The, 28, 96, 110
 Chuanyin, 153
 Chuduan, Tan, 85
 Chuji, Qiu, 85, 86, 161
 Chuo, Dao, 140
 Churches, 117, 179, 180, 186, 189–191, 195,
 197, 199–206, 231, 237, 248
 Chuxuan, Liu, 85
 Chuyi, Wang, 85

Clarity and Subtlety, 84
 Cologne, Arnold, 189
 Commission for Mongolian and Tibetan
 Affairs, 125
 Commission for the Promotion of Religion, 29,
 95, 136, 140, 168, 174, 252
 Complete teaching, 16, 18, 45, 49, 63, 68, 71,
 78, 85, 87, 94, 105, 108, 111, 115, 132,
 136, 139, 191, 199, 211, 217, 222, 232,
 240, 252
 Confucianism, 13, 20, 23, 28, 59, 61–63,
 65–78, 83, 86, 90, 95, 98, 104, 108, 109,
 116, 122, 152, 162, 167, 168, 173, 203,
 216, 256, 257
 Confucianism of the mind and nature, 74, 85
 Confucian scholarship, 18, 20
 Confucian Teaching, The, 21, 167
 Confucius, 6, 17, 21, 26, 46, 54, 55, 60–74, 79,
 104, 108–110, 117–119, 192, 193, 210,
 232, 256
 Congregational Church, 193
 Congregation of Priests of the Mission, 18, 68,
 128, 182
 Congregation of the Disciples of the Lord, The,
 146, 192, 193
 Consciousness-Only School, 139
 Court for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs, 17, 24,
 28, 40, 58, 70, 95, 99, 100, 110, 126,
 135, 144, 159, 169, 184, 192, 193, 196,
 212, 229, 244
 cult of Mazu, The, 217, 257
 Cultural Faith, 2, 7–9, 11
 Cun, Bei, 218

D

Da-fu, Yu, 218
 Dai Nationality Buddhism, 147
 Dainian, Zhang, 9
 Daiyu, Wang, 167, 173
 Dao'an, 28, 136, 137
 Daoci, 138
 Daoguang, Xue, 86
 Dao, Jia, 215
 Daolin, Zhi, 137
 Dao, Na, 218
 Dao, Shan, 141
 Daosui, Yu, 137
 Daoxin, 110, 168
 Daoyi, 80, 88, 137, 239
 Daozi, Wu, 219
 Da Pusheng, 175
 da Rocha, João, 227
 Dayu (Yu the Great), 15, 55
 Da, Zhi, 140

- Dehui, Huang, 109
 Delang, Zhu, 200
 Deng Xihou, 119
 Dengxing, Jiang, 218
 Department of Rites and Rituals, 248
 Deren, Liu, 85
 Descendants of Emperors Yandi and Huangdi, 11, 40, 50, 51, 53, 79
 Descendants of the dragon, 11, 41
 Dharma, 16, 19, 27, 28, 70, 71, 95, 100, 102, 104–107, 109, 128, 134, 136–145, 149, 155, 156, 180, 216, 217, 228, 229, 233–235, 240
 Dharma Characteristics School, 20, 143, 259
 Dharmadhatu, 141
 Dharma-eye School, 109
 Dharma-nature School, 138
 Dharmaratna, 133
 Diaz, Emmanuel, 178
 Dingjun, Wang, 218
 Dīpaṃkara Buddha, 100
 Dipin, Liao, 115, 116
 Dishan, Xu, 217
 distinct teaching, 155, 173, 184, 210, 225
 Doctrine of the Mean, The, 17, 70
 Doctrines and Practices of Internal Alchemy, 80, 106
 Dogen, 145
 Dominican Order, The, 192
 Dongbin, Lü, 225
 Donghua Sect, 84
 Dongmei, Fang, 74
 Dragon Gate Sect, 86, 87
 drawing lots from the golden urn, 28
 Duanyang, Ma, 110
 Duke of Zhou, 71, 73
 Dunyi, Zhou, 69, 83
 Duolie Sect, 147
 Du, Pu, 102
- E**
 Earthly Sovereign, 50
 Eastern Orthodox, 26, 130, 196
 East Mahayana School, 135
 Ecological religion, 39, 56, 91, 93, 239, 240
 Edward B Squire, 200
 Eight Consciousnesses, 140
 Eight Sects, 151
 Eight Strokes, 16, 221, 224
 Eight Trigram Teaching, 112–115
 Eisai, 145
 Eleven Strokes, 148
 Emperor Chongzhen, 101
 Emperor Daizong of Tang, 126, 180
 Emperor Dezong of Tang, 90, 180, 181
 Emperor Gaozong of Tang, 148, 180
 Emperor Huizong of Song, 83, 84, 101
 Emperor Jiaqing, 106, 108, 114
 Emperor Kangxi, 28, 65, 87, 101, 108, 130, 172, 192, 193
 Emperor Ku, 110
 Emperor of Japan, 18, 101, 146, 176, 191, 194
 Emperor Qianlong, 65, 86, 107, 113, 169
 Emperor Qishihuang, 38
 Emperor Suzong of Tang, 180
 Emperors Yandi and Huangdi, 11, 40, 50, 51, 53, 67, 79
 Emperor Taizong of Song, 38, 64, 83, 134, 141, 145, 148, 179–181, 223
 Emperor Taizong of Tang, 38, 64, 83, 134, 141, 145, 148, 179–181, 223
 Emperor Worship, 45
 Emperor Wudi of Liang, 25, 28, 37, 61–63, 68, 133, 136, 151
 Emperor Wu of Han, 21
 Emperor Wuzong of Tang, 126, 137, 151, 181, 184
 Emperor Xuanzong of Tang, 82, 126, 127, 142, 180
 Emperor Xuanzong of Tang (Emperor Ming of Tang), 82, 126, 127, 142, 180
 Emperor Yandi, 79
 Emperor Zhenzong of Song, 83, 158, 223
 Endicott, James Gareth, 205
 Enji Ben'en, 145
 Enpu, Zhang, 87
 Erfen, Wu, 218
 Erhong, Liu, 114
 Esoteric Buddhism, 146, 178
 Esoteric teaching, 148, 150
 Establish Teaching through Way of the Deities, 39, 51, 61, 68, 88, 102, 195, 248
 Eternal Venerable Mother, 100
 Exoteric teaching, 151
 Exotic fire-worshipping religion, 13
- F**
 Fahua School, 137
 Fahu, Zhu, 134
 Faith, 1–4, 7–13, 15, 17–19, 26, 28, 33, 34, 49, 76, 77, 95, 99–101, 115, 125, 127, 140–142, 152, 156, 157, 159, 161–163, 166, 169, 172–174, 182, 184, 186, 189, 191, 193, 195, 210, 211, 227, 257, 259, 260
 Fakai, Yu, 137
 Fakun, Zhu, 137
 Fa, Liang, 199, 200

- Fanfang (foreign community), 158
 Fangdan, Zhu, 118
 Fang, Ding, 227
 Fangji, Lu, 192
 Fan Songping, 218
 Fan Xuede, 218
 Fan Zimei, 204
 Farong, Ren, 87
 Fatai, Zhu, 137
 Faxian, 134, 137–139
 Fertility Worship, 31, 47, 48, 49
 Fifteen Strokes, 110
 Figurists, 257
 Filial Piety, 2, 5, 9, 83–85, 121, 132, 167, 174, 175, 225
 Fire-Worshipping Religion or Zoroastrianism, 13, 98, 123–125, 178
 Five Emperors, 12, 43, 50, 51, 224
 Five Great Mountains, 16, 32, 34–39, 42, 52, 55, 73, 87, 91, 94, 115, 142, 144, 165, 182, 191, 214, 232, 235, 238
 Five Houses and Seven Schools, 145
 Five Periods and Eight Teachings (wushi bajiao), 137
 Five Strokes, 224
 Flower Sect, 106
 Foguang, 104
 Folk beliefs, 13, 18, 33, 41, 96, 97, 152
 Folk Buddhism, 13, 19, 23, 26, 67, 74, 83, 85, 95–99, 102, 103, 108, 118, 125, 127, 151, 216, 217, 227, 228, 232, 257
 Folk Confucianism, 13, 20, 23, 25, 28, 59, 61–63, 65–70, 75, 78, 85, 90, 95, 97, 98, 108, 116–118, 122, 152, 162, 167, 173, 203, 215, 256, 257
 Folk religions, 18, 22, 79, 97–99, 102, 103, 106, 113, 127, 257
 Folk Taoism, 97
 Fotucheng, 133
 Four Benevolent Animals, 43, 55, 85, 90, 199, 212, 232
 Fourfold Doctrines of Conversion, 138, 181
 Fourfold Methods of Conversion, 138
 Four Noble Truths, 154
 Four Seas, 3, 11, 17, 38, 42, 54, 55, 108, 240
 Four Strokes, 17, 224
 Fourteen Strokes, 110
 Fozheng, 103
 Franciscans, The, 193
 Francis, Xavier, 191
 Friends of the Way of Tranquility and Purity, 104, 106, 117, 175, 194, 195, 236
 Fuan, Yao, 197
 Fuchu, Ma, 167, 168
 Fu, Du, 215
 Fuguan, Xu, 74
 Fuxi, 39, 47, 50, 51, 69, 109
 Fuxiang, Ma, 175
 Fuxi's Eight Trigrams, 47, 50, 99, 113–115
 Fuya, Xie, 204

G
 Gadalyne, 169, 172
 Ganden Sect, 151
 Gao, Cai, 198
 Gao Feng, 203, 206
 Gerardus Albuini, 190
 Geshi Taoism, 80
 Gezao Sect, The, 84
 Giovanni dei Marignolli, 190
 Giovanni de Montecorvino, 184, 188–190
 Giovanni de Piano Carpin, 188
 Giuseppe Castiglione, 227
 Gnostic Religion, The, 125
 God, 8, 12, 13, 15–17, 19, 21, 27, 32–50, 52–60, 62, 64, 69, 73, 75–80, 82, 89, 90, 97, 99, 101, 110, 115, 123, 124, 128, 132, 133, 156, 161, 170, 173, 174, 182, 189, 192, 199, 201, 210, 212–214, 217, 224, 225, 228, 233, 237
 Golden Elixir-Eight Trigram School, The, 83, 113
 Golden Star Hall, 8, 16, 28, 36, 48, 54, 82, 84, 100, 113, 142, 162, 180, 222, 228, 233
 Gold Mountain Sect, 86
 Gongbei, 169–173, 225
 Gonggong, 51, 53, 54
 Gong, Guan, 110
 Gonglin, Li, 219
 Gradual school, 45, 48, 56, 94, 98, 103, 106, 109, 121, 125, 132, 138, 144, 149, 151, 158, 162, 166, 168, 191, 203, 228, 229, 239, 251, 254
 Great Sun Teaching, 178
 Great Tao in Emptiness, The, 115
 Great Unity, 10, 27, 72, 210
 Great Unity Teaching, 13, 26, 72, 216
 Great Way, 85
 Great Way of True Emptiness, The, 99
 Great Way Teaching, 85, 86
 Green Gangs, The, 103, 105–107
 Guangdan, Pan, 130
 Guang, Pu, 140
 Guangqing, Dong, 196
 Guangqi, Xu, 191, 192
 Guang, Shen, 110
 Guangting, Du, 82, 94
 Guangxian, Yang, 192

Guangxun, Ding, [205](#), [206](#)
 Guangyuan, Chen, [177](#)
 Guangyu, Peng, [18](#)
 Guanyin, Bodhisattva, [38](#), [150](#), [156](#), [217](#), [221](#),
[222](#), [231](#), [232](#)
 Guanzong, Luo, [206](#)
 Guide, Ma, [121](#)
 Guiyang School, [145](#)
 Guodi, Chen, [195](#)
 Guohua, Zhao, [48](#)
 Guoping, Nie, [195](#)
 Gu, Pan, [49](#), [50](#), [120](#)
 Gyalpo, Kongchog, [150](#)
 Gyatso, Sherap, [153](#)

H

Haichan, Liu, [86](#)
 Haiping, [218](#)
 Haizi, [218](#)
 Hanafiyyah, [165](#), [169](#)
 Hanbali, [157](#), [185](#), [186](#), [190](#)
 Han, Oğulcak, [159](#)
 Han-schools-sect, [170](#)
 Han Transmission Esoteric School, [137](#), [146](#)
 Hao, Cheng, [69](#)
 Hao Datong, [85](#)
 Haowen, Yuan, [216](#)
 Haoxian, Wang, [104](#)
 Harmonious Teaching of the Three-in-One,
 The, [122](#), [175](#)
 Heavenly Heart Sect, [84](#)
 Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace, [201](#)
 Hede, Cheng, [195](#)
 Hetian, Yao, [110](#)
 He, Zheng, [164](#)
 Hideki, Yukawa, [96](#)
 Hilarion Lezhaysky, [197](#)
 Hinayana, [106](#), [133](#), [135](#), [138](#), [155](#)
 Hinayana Buddhism, [133](#)
 Hinduism, [13](#)
 Hongdu, Zhang, [117](#)
 Hong, Ge, [60](#), [81](#)
 Hongjing, Tao, [81](#), [214](#), [239](#)
 Honglu Temple, [29](#), [138](#)
 Hongru, Xu, [104](#)
 Hongyang Sect, [99](#)
 Hongyang Teaching, [99](#), [100](#), [112](#), [113](#)
 Hongyi (Li Shutong), [139](#), [153](#), [217](#)
 Hongzhang, Li, [200](#)
 Houtu (Queen of the Earth), [35–37](#)
 Huaide, Li, [121](#)
 Huaide, Zong, [196](#)
 Huaitsu, [221](#)
 Huaiyi, Zhao, [195](#)

Huan, Gu, [10](#)
 Huanhua Sect, [137](#)
 Huanzhang, Chen, [66](#)
 Huashan Sect, [120](#)
 Huasi Menhuan, [165](#), [171](#)
 Huaxia, [3](#), [5](#), [10](#), [18](#), [51](#), [52](#), [55](#), [79](#), [199](#), [229](#)
 Huayan School, [137](#), [141–143](#)
 Hu Dengzhou, [166](#)
 Hudson Taylor, James, [200](#)
 Hui Muslim Hadis, [164](#), [166](#), [167](#)
 Huiguo, [146](#)
 Huihai, [132](#), [156](#), [158–161](#), [163](#), [165](#)
 Huijiao, [176](#), [228](#)
 Huineng, [110](#), [137](#), [143–145](#)
 Huisi, [138](#)
 Huiwei, [138](#)
 Huiwen, [138](#)
 Hui, Yan, [223](#)
 Huiyuan, [22](#)
 Humanistic Buddhism, [153](#)
 Humanistic religions, [18](#), [33](#), [56](#), [66](#), [79](#), [153](#)
 Human Sovereign, [50](#)
 human way, The, [6](#), [8](#), [19](#), [66](#), [69](#), [77](#)
 Humen Menhuan, [165](#)
 Hunyuan ("Primordial Undetermined")-
 Hongyang ("Great Sun") Sect, The, [32](#),
[113](#)
 Hu Ruoshan, [195](#)
 Hu Yanqing, [218](#)
 Hu Zhenzhong, [196](#)

I

Immortality methods and arts, [38](#), [44](#), [57](#), [80](#),
[81](#), [85](#), [86](#), [94](#), [99](#), [110–112](#), [214](#), [216](#),
[223](#), [237](#), [239](#)
 Immortals, [34](#), [37](#), [43](#), [44](#), [86](#), [87](#), [91](#), [186](#),
[214–216](#), [222](#), [223](#), [225](#), [228–230](#), [235](#),
[236](#)
 Immortals Encountering Sect, [34](#), [86](#), [144](#), [181](#),
[203](#), [213](#)
 Incarnation, [37](#), [78](#), [80](#), [90](#), [95](#), [104](#), [105](#), [107](#),
[141](#), [149](#), [150](#), [155](#), [156](#), [220](#)
 Incense associations, [99](#), [103–105](#), [107](#), [113](#),
[229](#), [238](#)
 Index of Nouns / Four Strokes, [17](#), [224](#)
 Intercession between Heaven and Earth, [6](#), [8](#),
[12](#), [13](#), [15](#), [19–22](#), [35–37](#), [45](#), [49](#), [53](#), [57](#),
[63](#), [66](#), [68](#), [76–78](#), [91](#), [97](#), [100](#), [111](#), [118](#),
[119](#), [217](#), [237](#), [239](#), [240](#)
 Islam, [13](#), [26](#), [28](#), [29](#), [122](#), [125](#), [129](#), [132](#),
[156–171](#), [173–177](#), [225](#), [226](#), [230](#), [236](#),
[256–258](#)
 Islam Teaching Gate, [160](#)
 Issachar Jacob Roberts, [199](#)

J

Jacob, 190, 199
 Jahariyah, 171
 Jeelani, Abdul Qadir, 172
 Jesus, 110, 120, 161, 184, 197, 204, 227, 237
 Jesus Christ, 161, 204
 Jesus Religion, 110, 120, 122, 131, 160, 164, 184, 198, 204, 227, 237
 Ji, Hou, 49
 Jianhong, Ji, 206
 Jianlong, Gu, 223
 Jian, Ma, 176
 Jiao, Zhang, 80
 Jiashu, Zhang, 196
 Jiesan, Cheng, 194
 Jie, Zhang, 176, 177
 Jiguang, Qi, 117
 Ji, Kui, 139, 140
 Jinan, Xu, 110
 Jin, Ba, 217
 Jin, Dai, 223
 Jing'an, 153, 233
 Jing, Jing, 180, 181
 Jing, Luo, 218
 Jin Luxian, Aloysius, 196
 Jingmai, 140
 Jingming Sect, 179
 Jing, Qin, 133
 Jingren, Yang, 176, 177
 Jing, Yang, 218
 Jingyi, Cheng, 204
 Jinlin, Li, 200
 Jinping, Xi, 256, 260
 Jinshan, He, 187, 200
 Jisan, Zhou, 176
 Jiyu, Ren, 20
 Jizang, 138
 Joseph Terence Montgomery Needham, 96, 257
 Judaism, 13, 28, 128–132, 161
 Jueyi, Wang, 109, 110
 Junguo, Ma, 175
 Junli, Zhang, 74
 Junqing, Liu, 194
 Junyi, Tang, 74
 Juyi, Bai, 215

K

Kai, Gong, 223
 Kaimin, Zhu, 195
 Kai-shek, Chiang, 73
 Kaizhi, Gu, 219
 Kang, Ji, 214
 Kangua or Kan Trigram Sect, The, 113, 115

Kangyur, 151
 Kan, Liang, 82
 Ke, Hui, 144
 Keji fuli(discipline the self and return to ritual), 2, 3, 7
 Keqiang, Li, 260
 Ke, Shi, 223
 Kezhai, Wu, 195
 Khan, Genghis, 86, 161, 165
 Khan, Güyük, 188
 Khan, Kublai, 84, 149, 150, 152, 161, 162, 185, 186, 188
 Khan, Kül Bilgä Qadir, 159
 Khuflyyah, 171, 174
 Kong, Fa, 140
 Kṣitigarbha, 38, 222, 233
 Kuan, Huang, 200
 Kuang, Gu, 215
 Kuangyin, Zhao, 37
 Kuan, Wang, 175, 176
 Kūkai, 146
 Kumārajīva, 133
 Kuo, Shen, 160

L

Lama, Dalai, 149, 151
 Lamaism, 135, 148
 Lanfang, Wen, 218
 Laoguan (old official) Sect of Abstention, 105
 Laoshan Sect, Mount, 86
 Laozi (Lao-Tzu or Lao-Tze), 26, 44, 224
 Legge, James, 5, 200
 Leichuan, Wu, 204
 Leighton Stuart, John, 203, 205
 Lewis Shuck, John, 199
 Li, 26, 35, 36, 53, 63, 78, 82, 95, 111, 131, 174
 Lianzhi, Ying, 194
 Li, Fa, 139
 Lihai, Huang, 218
 Lingyun, Xie, 61, 214
 Lingzhang (Zhang Daoling), 80, 84, 89
 Linji School, 145
 Linyi, Ma, 175
 Li Trigram Teaching, 113, 114
 Liumen or Gate of Liu, 119
 Liumen Sect, 99
 living Buddha, 110, 151
 Local Color, 203, 204, 227
 Logos, 96, 257
 Lokaksema, 133
 Lombardie, Anselme de, 188
 London Missionary Society, 198, 199, 202
 Long huamin, 192
 Lotus Sect, The, 99, 102, 106

Louise IX, King, 188
 Loyalty, 2, 5, 6, 9, 44, 85, 90, 106, 121, 167, 174, 175, 225
 Lu, Lin, 218
 Luan, Tan, 140
 Lun, Wang, 114
 Luo Teaching, 103

M

Madhyamaka, 138, 148
 Mahayana, 26, 98–100, 103, 104, 106–108, 115, 134, 135, 138, 233
 Mahayana Buddhism, 99, 133, 135, 138
 Mahayana Esoteric Buddhism, 146
 Mahayana School of Maitreya, 98
 Maigrot, Charles, 193
 Maitreya, 99, 100, 102, 104–106, 110, 111, 128, 152, 155, 221, 222, 229, 233
 Maitreya School, 98
 Mālikī, The, 157
 Mal, Laichi, 171
 Mani, 125, 126, 219, 229
 Manichaeism, 97, 98, 103, 106, 125–128, 159, 162
 Manjusri, 150, 155, 232, 233
 Maoshan Sect, 81
 Mar – Saghis, 185, 186
 Matanga, Kasyapa, 133
 Medhurst, Walter Henry, 199
 Mencius, 3, 7, 16, 40, 61, 64, 69, 70, 71, 73, 78, 108, 110
 Mengjia, Chen, 218
 Mengnan, Chen, 203
 Menhuan, 168, 169
 Messiah, 162, 179, 181, 185
 Methodist Episcopal Church, 202, 203
 Methodist Episcopal Church, The, 202, 203
 method of mind, The, 137
 Middle Land, The, 3
 Middle Way or Middle Path, The, 137, 138, 140, 166, 174, 177
 Mieshe (Moses), 131
 Milne, William, 199
 Mindu, Zhi, 137
 Mingxin, Ma, 171
 Mingyuan, Lei, 193
 Mingzun Jiao (theRevered Brightness Teaching), 127
 Mo, Lin, 101
 Mongolian-Tibetan Buddhism, 135
 Moon God Worship, 32
 Morality Books, 3, 16, 175, 214
 Moruo, Guo, 47

Moses, 130–132, 161
 Mosque education, 166–170
 Mott, 168, 202
 Muftī Branch, 169
 Muḥammad, 110, 157, 161, 167, 171, 172
 Muslim, 29, 110, 157–170, 172, 175, 176, 177, 182, 225, 226, 231
 Myth, 12, 22, 31–35, 44, 47, 48, 49, 53, 55, 90, 93, 214, 216, 217, 219, 220, 232

N

Nāgārjuna, 138
 Nan, Chen, 86
 Nasr, 159
 national faith, 2, 9, 10, 11, 12
 Native Religions, 75
 Natural Religion, 12
 Neo-Confucianism, 74, 152, 167
 Nestorian, 124, 177, 182, 183, 189, 191, 226
 Nestorianism, 124, 177, 183, 188, 226
 New Age Movement, 96
 New Confucian Religion, The, 20–23, 25, 26, 59, 62–64, 66–69, 72, 73, 75, 93, 94, 98, 256, 257
 New Confucians, 65, 72, 87, 167, 191
 New Study of Benevolence, The, 4, 6, 9, 20, 54, 58, 60, 66–69, 71, 74, 77, 90, 95, 101, 121, 122, 211
 New Talisman School, The, 84
 Nian Army, The, 114
 Nine Palaces and Eight Trigrams, 114
 Nine Palaces Teaching, 113
 Nine Strokes, 16, 224
 Nirvana, 17, 137, 140, 154, 156, 256
 Nong, Jin, 223
 Northern Buddhism, 135, 136, 151
 Northern Way of the Celestial Masters, 81
 North-school of Quanzhen, 216, 230
 Nvwa, 44, 50

O

Odorico da Pordenone, 190
 Oil and Wax Teaching, 108
 Old Talisman School, 84
 One Character Sect, 105
 Order of Saint Benedict, 194
 ordination certificates, 29
 Orthodox, 7, 17, 26, 33, 59, 61, 64, 68, 70–73, 76, 80, 83–86, 89, 93, 98, 107, 109, 118, 120, 130, 131, 144, 170, 196, 197, 230
 Orthodox Unity, 109
 Overseas Confucianism, 74

P

Padmasambhava, 148
 Pali Buddhism, 146
 Palm Leaf Sūtras, 181
 Pan-chen, 151
 Pan, Wang, 191
 Paramārtha, 133
 Paris Foreign Missions Society, 193
 Patriarchal religions, 25
 Pei Ju, 128, 223
 Pelliot, 126
 Peregrinano Castello, 190
 perfect and sudden teaching, 108
 Persia, 123–125, 129, 130, 157, 160, 177–179, 187, 188, 190
 Persian Exotic Religion, The, 124, 177–179
 Persian Religion, 124, 178, 179
 Persian Sutra Religion, 124
 Peter Parker, 199
 philosophy of the divine, 2
 Pi, Cao, 214
 political faith, 2, 3, 6, 7
 Polo, 184, 188, 232
 Polo, Marco, 184, 188, 232
 Pope Benedict XV, 194
 Pope Clement V, 190
 Pope Clement X, 192
 Pope Pius XII, 193, 195
 Post Sectarian Period, 206
 Prajna, 137, 140, 141, 240
 Precepts, 80, 87, 88, 108, 111, 119, 128, 131, 132, 136, 139, 147, 153, 154, 229
 Precious Scrolls, 98, 100, 217
 Pre-Heaven Way, 108, 109, 111, 114
 Presbyterian Society, The, 200, 201
 primitive myths, 12, 26, 31
 primitive religions, 26
 Princess Bhrikuti, 148
 Princess Wencheng, 148
 Princess Yuelie, 185
 Protestantism, 26, 197, 200, 256, 257
 Puchu, Zhao, 153
 Pure Land School, 140, 141
 Pure Tea Sect (Qingcha menjiao), The, 99
 Pure Water Sect, 114
 Purple Sun Sect, 121
 Pusaman, 158

Q

Qadim, 169
 Qadiriyyah, 172, 174
 Qayan, Möngke, 161, 184
 Qayan, Ögedei, 161, 184, 187
 Qian Gu, 35, 41, 47, 49, 60, 65, 74, 89, 106

Qian Mu, 74
 Qian, Xiao, 217
 Qian, Zhang, 123, 133
 Qianzhi, Kou, 81
 Qianzhi, Zhu, 178
 Qichao, Liang, 156, 201
 Qi, He, 227
 Qing, Lin, 114
 Qing, Luo, 103, 104, 106
 Qingjue, Chen, 87
 Qingming, Pang, 218
 Qingxu, Liu, 109, 110
 Qixi, Ma, 170
 Qu Ang, 200
 Quanzhen School, The, 216
 Qu Yuan, 34, 46, 211–213

R

Rabban Sauma, 186
 Red Emperor, 51, 224
 Red Region (Chixian), x
 Red Sect, 150
 Red Sun Sect (Hongyang jiao), 99
 Reformed Church, 202
 Reincarnation of Living Buddhas, 149, 150, 248
 Religion of purity and truth, 132, 156
 religion of the “Messiah”, 179, 181
 Religious Affairs Bureau, 29, 247, 253
 Religious art, 218, 219, 227
 Religious faith, 2, 12, 13, 18, 19, 27, 33, 97, 100, 123, 125, 149, 156, 157, 159, 165, 211, 243, 259, 260
 Religious literature, 212, 214, 215, 217
 Religious teaching, 117
 Ren, Hong, 110, 143, 144
 Ren or Benevolence, 4, 6, 9, 20, 54, 58, 60, 66–69, 71, 74, 77, 90, 95, 101, 121, 122, 211
 Renshan, Li, 176
 Renzhang, Lai, 116
 Ricci, Matteo, 191, 192, 227, 257
 Richaid Wilhelm, 93
 Richard, Timothy, 200
 Rijun, Chen, 196
 ritual sacrifices to Heaven, 21
 Robert Morrison, 198
 Rongqing, Wang, 114
 Rongzi, 218
 Ru, Fa, 144
 Ruggieri, Michael, 191
 Ruhan, Liu, 113
 Run School of Buddhism, 141, 144, 219
 Ruo, He, 108–110

S

- Sacrificial Rituals for Confucius, 62, 67, 89, 228
- Sages and Worthies Teaching, 70, 73, 131
- Sakya (red) Sect, 149, 150, 235
- Samsara, 100, 155, 156
- Samuel Wells Williams, 199
- Sanchun, Xu, 227
- Sanfeng, Zhang, 86
- Śāntarakṣita, 148, 149
- Schall von Bell, Johann Adam, 192
- School of Filial Piety, 2, 5, 9, 83–85, 121, 132, 167, 174, 175, 225
- School of Jise (Matter-as-Such), The, 137
- School of Mt. Nanshan, 139, 234, 235
- School of Numinous Treasure, 81, 82
- School of Orthodox Unity, 109, 230
- School of the Golden Elixir, 82, 83, 86, 109, 115
- School of the Highest Clarity, 84
- Scripture Gatherings, 44
- secret religions, 97
- Sect of Internal Alchemy, 82, 83, 85, 88, 106, 111, 117, 237
- Sect of the Mind, 145
- Senghui, Kang, 219
- Sen, Wang, 103–105, 107
- separation of church and state, 27
- Seven Perfected Ones of Complete Perfection, The, 85, 86
- Seven Perfected Ones of the Northern Sect, 86
- Seven Perfected Ones of the Southern School, The, 144
- Seven Strokes, 16, 224
- Seventh-day Adventist, 203
- Seypidin, 176
- Shafi'i, 157
- Shakyamuni, 86, 100, 104, 110–112, 120, 133, 148, 154, 155, 161, 219, 220, 222, 229
- Shamanism, 161
- Shang, Du, 218
- Shanwen, Han, 201
- Shaohao, 50, 109
- Shaokang, 141
- Shared (Common)Teaching, 138
- She, Lao, 217
- Sheng, Huang, 200
- Shengjian, Zhan, 116
- Shengmo, Xi, 203
- Shengpu, Zhou, 226
- Shennong, 39, 40, 50, 51, 69, 109, 114
- Sheng, Zhang, 84, 116
- Shila, Guo, 199
- Shia, 171
- Shihan School (school [advocating the view that all is] contained in consciousness), 137
- Shili, Xiong, 74
- Shimin, Li, 82
- Shingon Sect, 146
- Shiqian, Pang, 176
- Shi, Su, 224
- Shi Wei, 218
- Shiwei, An, 177
- Shixing, Zhu, 134
- Shou, Yan, 141
- Shouyuan Teaching, 113
- Shouyi, Yang, 110
- Shouzhen, Zhang, 83
- Shun, Du, 141
- Shutong, Li, 139, 221
- Shvakya ye shes, 149
- Sicheng, Zhang, 84
- Silent Illumination Chan, The, 152
- Silk Road, 13, 123–131, 133, 134, 146, 157, 158, 161, 164, 178, 179, 181, 182, 187, 188, 191, 231, 255, 256
- Sima Qian, 60
- Sinicization, 28, 58, 95, 125, 137, 143, 164, 194, 196, 206, 214, 221, 257, 260
- Sitong, Tan, 211
- Six Houses and Seven Sects, 137
- Six Strokes, 16, 224
- Society of Dharma Friends, 16, 19, 27, 28, 70, 95, 100, 102, 104–107, 109, 128, 133, 136–140, 156, 228, 233–235, 240
- Society of God Worshipers, 199
- Society of Jesus, 197, 204, 227, 237
- Society of the Divine Word, 1, 8, 19, 40–44, 57, 59, 63, 68, 77, 84, 89, 98, 112, 120, 128, 140, 218, 224, 227, 235
- Song Fujian, 24, 25, 101, 116, 127, 185, 192, 234, 249
- Song-ming Neo-Confucianism, 74, 152, 167, 216
- Songting, Ma, 175
- Songtsen Gampo, 148
- Songwen, Liu, 119
- Soul, 7, 17, 19, 33, 37, 44–46, 59, 209, 211, 213, 232, 256
- Southern Lineage of Celestial Masters, The, 81, 84
- śramaṇa, 136, 181
- Star Worship, 32–34, 35, 44, 50, 52, 53, 59, 61, 67, 70
- State Ethnic and Religious Affairs Commission, 29, 190, 244, 245, 247–252

- study of Chan, 17, 48, 82, 99, 103, 106, 117, 137, 140, 141–145, 152, 214, 215, 219, 220, 234, 257
 Study of Immortality, 38, 44, 57, 80, 81, 86, 94, 99, 110–112, 214, 216, 223, 229, 237, 239
 study of man (study of human), 66
 Study of Prajna, The, 137
 Śubhakarasiṃha, 146
 Sudden and Complete Teaching of Mahayana, 26, 98–100, 103, 104, 106–108, 135, 138, 146, 233
 Sudden Teaching, 108
 Su Enpei, 218
 Sufi School, 169
 Sufism, 167
 Suiren, 7, 50
 Sultan Satuq Bughra Khan, 236
 Suming, Liang, 74, 77, 156
 Sun Dezhen, 195
 Sun God Worship, 32, 48
 Sun Jishi, 176
 Sun Xuanqing, 86
 Sun Yat-sen, 5, 73, 201
 Sunni, 157, 165, 166, 169, 171, 230
- T**
- Tai, Shi, 86
 Taihu, Han, 111, 112
 Tai, Shen, 140
 Taixu, 153
 Taiyan, Zhang, 60
 Talisman schools, 84
 Tang, Hou, 113, 114
 Tao of Confucius and Mencius, The, 73, 108
 Tao of Emperors Yao and Shun, The, 40, 55, 118
 Tao of Liumen, 99
 Taoism, 13, 19, 20, 23, 36, 44, 60, 65–68, 70–72, 76–80, 82–84, 91, 93–98, 104, 108–112, 116, 119, 122, 152, 160, 162, 167, 172, 173, 179, 214–217, 219, 224, 238, 239, 256, 257
 Taoist Canon, The, 37, 61, 88
 Taoist religion, The, 26, 35, 71, 78–99, 135, 222, 229, 238, 256
 Teaching from Syria, 178
 Teaching of Aware of the Voidness, 229
 Teaching of Confucius, 26
 Teaching of Empty Tao, 115
 Teaching of Righteousness-Harmony Gate and Li Trigram, 113, 115
 Teaching of Wuwei, 113, 112
 Teachings of Sages and Worthies, 73
 Ten Commandments of Moses, The, 132
 Tendai esotericism, 146
 Tengyur, 151
 Ten Mysterious Gates, 142
 Thangka, 220
 The Caodong school, 145
 The Louguandao, 82
 Theology, 18, 63, 67, 98, 179, 204, 206, 218
 Theravada Buddhism, 146, 147
 Three Dharma Seals, 128
 Three Houses of the Vinaya School, The, 139
 Three-Self, 205, 206
 Three Sovereigns, 7, 50, 60, 82, 100
 Three Strokes, 16
 Three Treatise school, 138
 Tiande (Heavenly Virtues) Teaching, 120
 Tiandi (Heavenly Sovereign) Teaching, 7, 58, 120
 Tianjun (Heavenly Equilibrium) Teaching, 120
 Tianran, Zhang, 109, 110
 Tianren (Heavenly Beings) Teaching, 181
 Tiantai School, 137
 Tianyou, Xiao, 85
 Tianyuan (Heavenly Sources) Teaching, 87
 Tiao jin jiao (“pick out the tendons”), 129
 Tibetan Buddhism, 26, 135, 148–152, 248
 Tibetan Esotericism, 146
 Tibetan Gelug-pa, 149
 Tibetan religions, 24–26, 148, 151
 Tieshan, Fu, 196
 Timur, Tughlugh, 162, 170
 Tingjun, Yang, 191
 Tingxian, Liu, 114
 Tong Cong, 175
 Töregene, 184
 Totem, 11, 12, 228, 232, 239
 Totemism, 26, 31, 40, 41, 43, 44, 48, 52
 Tradescant Lay, 200
 Tripitaka, 125, 138, 139, 146, 147, 151, 154, 216
 True Emptiness Religion, The, 99, 115
 Tsongkhapa, 150
 Tuan, Chen, 83
 Twelve Links of Causation, 154, 155
 Two truths doctrine, 138
- U**
- Unity of church and state, 27
 Unity of the Three Teachings, 85
 Universal Sage, 110, 141
- V**
- Vairocana, 233
 Vairocana Buddha, 141, 155

- Vajrabodhi, 146
 Variable Teaching, 138
 Variant School of Fundamental Non-being, 138
 Vegetable -ating Religion, 127
 Vegetables Teaching, 102, 127
 Verbiest, Ferdinand, 192
 Vinaya School, 137, 139
 Vinaya School of Mt. Nanshan, The, 139
 Virtue Teaching, 120, 121
- W**
 Wanchun, Zhuo, 117
 Wanfu, Ma, 169
 Wang Han (Wang Khan or Ong Khan), 184
 Wang, Jia, 82
 Wang, Jinren, 194
 Wang Liangzuo, 195
 Wanlin, Kong, 114
 Wan Qiyuan, 192
 Waqqas, 157
 Way of Celestial Masters, 80, 81, 84
 Way of Heaven, 17, 19, 20, 43, 77, 78, 85, 92, 95
 Way of Huaixuan (Master of the Locust Tree Studio), The, 119
 Way of Jingming zhongxiao, The, 179
 Way of Luo Teaching, 103, 128
 Way of Orthodox Unity, The, 109
 Way of Secretly Returning to the Hometown, 113
 Way of Sovereign Heaven, 7, 58, 63, 69, 73, 77, 110, 120
 Way of the Five Pecks of Rice, 80, 81
 Way of the Gods, 28
 Way of the Great Peace, The, 80, 98
 Way of the Great Unity, The, 10, 27, 72, 210
 Way of the Humane King, The, 211
 Way of True Emptiness, The, 115
 Way of Yellow Heaven, 110, 111
 Wei, Wang, 215, 218, 220
 Weifan, Wang, 218
 Weiming, Tu, 74
 Weixing, Luo, 108
 Weixin, Zheng, 192
 Wencheng, Li, 114, 148
 Wenhua, Yuan, 196
 Wenhui, Liu, 119
 Wenhui, Lu, 118
 Wen, King, 71, 73, 110
 Wenliang, Zhang, 218
 Wen, Liu, 119
 Wenqin, Wang, 218
 Wenxiang Religion, 81
- Wenxiu, Wu, 200
 Wenyu, Yao, 106
 Wenzao, Han, 206
 West Mahayana Sect, 99
 White Lotus Sect, 92, 102, 105, 106
 White Lotus Society, 102, 103, 140
 White Lotus Teaching, 102
 White Mountain Sect, 37, 171
 Wing, Yung, 200
 Witchcraft, 13, 56, 76, 85, 97, 128, 213, 214, 227
 World religions, 123
 Worship of Celestial Deities, 26, 32
 Worship pf ghosts and spirits, 44
 Wu and the One [Emperor] Zong, 136
 Wu Changling, 139
 Wudang Benshan Taoism, 86
 Wudang Taoism, The, 83, 111
 Wu, King, 4
 Wupan Teaching, 108
 Wushu, Lin, 126, 179
- X**
 Xia, Kong, 218
 Xiangbo, Ma, 194
 Xiang, Fu, 218
 Xiang, Liu, 119
 Xiangshan, Li, 115
 Xiangshan, Lu, 73
 Xian, Jue, 133
 Xianqu, Liu, 119
 Xianshou School of Huayan Buddhism, 142
 Xiantian jiao or Pre-heaven Sect, 106
 Xianwei, Fu, 206
 Xianzhi, Yang, 215
 Xianzhong, Ma, 169
 Xiao, Changming, 120
 Xiaofeng, Zhang, 218
 Xiaomaizi, 218
 Xiao Xiao, 218
 Xia Teaching, 117
 Xiayi, Shen, 177
 Xidaotang, 169, 170
 Xie, Wei, 219
 Xihua, Liang, 218
 Xin, Bing, 217
 Xingguo, Liu, 113, 114
 Xinglang, Zhang, 182, 187
 Xingsi, 145
 Xinjie, Yao-zhang, 218
 Xiong, Ren, 223
 Xiqian, 145
 Xiujing, Lu, 81, 82
 Xiuquan, Hong, 199, 201

Xiu, Shen, 144
 Xixi, Lu, 218
 Xi, Yin, 82
 Xizhi, Wang, 221, 224
 Xi, Zhu, 61–63, 69, 70, 72, 73, 216
 Xuan, An, 133
 Xuan, Dao, 140
 Xuanlang, 83, 138
 Xuanling, Fang, 179, 181
 Xuantong, Qian, 47
 Xuanzang, 134
 Xun, Lu, 76, 217
 Xunzi, 16, 57
 Xuyun, 152, 153
 Xu, Zhang, 224

Y

Yahbh Allah, 186
 Yale-China Association, 202
 Yang, Chen, 228
 Yangming, Wang, 73, 119
 Yangqi School, 145
 Yang Ruide, 121
 Yantong, Tan, 218
 Yao, Tang, 120
 Yaozong, Wu, 204–206
 Yaxin, He, 200
 Yelikewen or Nestorianism, 160, 177, 182, 185
 Yellow Dragon Sect, 42, 52
 Yellow Emperor, 11, 12, 35, 37, 51–53, 71, 78, 79, 88
 Yellow Heaven Sect, 99, 110, 111
 Yellow Sect, 150
 YelvChuai, 161
 Yezi, 218
 Yi, Cai, wo133, 221
 Yi, Cheng, 69
 Yi, Ren, 223
 Yi, Yao, 106
 Yichan or Ishan, 170
 Yicheng, 142, 153
 Yicileye Sect or the Israelite Religion, 129
 Yiduo, Wen, 217
 Yiguandao or Consistent Way, 108, 109
 Yihewani, 169
 Yihui, Yang, 204
 Yijing, 134
 Yin, Lu, 217
 Ying, Gu, 218
 Yinglin, Ma, 196
 Yingwu, Wei, 215
 Yingzhen, Chen, 218
 Yinliu, Yang, 231
 Yinshun, 153

Yixiang, 143
 Yixing, 146
 Yogācāra School, 140
 Yongle Emperor, 149
 Yongnian, Liu, 83, 86
 Yong, Shao, 84
 Yongzheng, 171
 Youlan, Feng, 74
 You, Lu, 216
 Youwei, Kang, 61, 66, 201
 Youwen, Jian, 204
 Yuan, Chen, 124, 126, 129, 157, 194
 Yuandao, Ying, 204
 Yuandun Taoism, 99, 111
 Yuan, Liu, 119
 Yuanren, Liu, 196
 Yuanxian, Zhang, 87
 Yuanying, 153
 Yuanzhang, Zhu, 152, 190
 Yuanzhao, 181
 Yu, Bin, 195, 196
 Yucai, Zhang, 84
 Yu, Cao, 218
 Yuexia, 153
 Yu, Han, 70–73, 233
 Yuhang, Li, 87
 Yuhuai, Ma, 176
 Yujie, Li, 20, 121
 Yu, Ma, 85
 Yunde, Liu, 192
 Yunlin, Chen, 218
 Yunlong, Gao, 114
 Yunmen School, 145
 Yunshan, Feng, 201
 Yun-Shun, 36, 37, 55
 Yunting, Ma, 176
 Yushan, Wu, 192
 Yu, Song, 212

Z

Zai, Zhang, 69
 Zang, Fa, 141, 142
 Zetian, Wu, 126, 142
 “Zhai-Jiao” (Taoist rituals of Fasts and Offerings), 89
 Zhangmen Menhua, 165
 Zhanran, 138
 Zhao, Dao, 140
 Zhao, Fa, 141
 Zhao’en, Lin, 116, 117, 118
 Zhao Zichen, 204, 205
 zheng zhu jiao cong (government in control and religion in subordination), 53
 Zhenhai, 184

- Zhen, Jian, 139
 Zhenlan, 117
 Zhen Trigram Teaching, 115
 Zhenzhi, Yu, 218
 Zhi, Cao, 39, 228
 Zhi, Liu, 167, 170, 173, 175
 Zhidong, Zhang, 201
 Zhijian, Wu, 204
 Zhimeng, 134
 Zhimo, Xu, 218
 Zhiqian, Yuan, 109, 110
 Zhiting, Min, 87
 Zhitong, 140
 Zhiwei, 138
 Zhixin, Wang, 204
 Zhiyan, 143
 Zhiyi, 137, 138
 Zhiyong, 221
 Zhizao, Li, 178, 191
 Zhong Liquan, 86
 Zhong-Lü Golden Elixir Sect, 82
 Zhongshu, Dong, 13, 21, 25, 61, 68, 69
 Zhong, Wang, 114
 Zhongyi, Lu, 110
 Zhongying, Cheng, 74
 Zhou Yutong, 47
 Zhuangzi, 15, 26
 Zhuangxu, 22, 36, 50, 52, 53, 55, 109
 Zhu, Ma, 167, 174
 Zhurong, 51
 Zi-ang, Chen, 215
 Zigong, 70
 Zi, Ning, 218
 Ziqi, Ye, 160
 Zisi, 70, 71, 73, 110
 Zixiang, Wu, 108, 110
 Ziyuan, Mao, 99, 102
 Zongmi, 142
 Zongyan, Zhang, 84
 Zongyuan, Wu, 215, 223
 Zoroastrianism, 13, 98, 123–125, 178
 Zuchang, Ma, 185
 Zunxian, Huang, 18
 Zuochen, Liu, 113, 114
 Zuodi School, 147
 Zuoren, Zhou, 217
 Zuo Zongtang, 200